This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES
3 3433 06818765 1

THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN;

FROM

THE BIRTH OF JESUS CHRIST UNTIL

THE YEAR M.DC.XLVIII.

ENDEAVOURED

BY THOMAS FULLER, D.D.

PREBENDARY OF SARUM.

A NEW EDITION, IN SIX VOLUMES,

BY THE REV. J. S. BREWER, M.A.

VOLUME V.

OXFORD:

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

M.DCCC.XLV.

33093
ASTOR LIBRARY
MAY
9
1895
NEW YORK

SECT. V.

TO

DANIEL HARVEY, ESQ.,

HIGH SHERIFF OF SURREY[a].

I am sufficiently sensible of the great distance and disproportion betwixt my meanness and your worth, as at all other times, so now especially, whilst you are a prime officer in public employment. Despairing, therefore, that my pen can produce any thing meet for your entertainment, I have endeavoured in this Section to accommodate you with company fittest for your converse, being all no meaner than statesmen, and most of them privy counsellors, in their several letters about the grand business of conformity.

God in due time bless you and your honourable consort with such issue as may be a comfort to you and a credit to all your relations.

ERY strongly Leicester, (though at the council-table politicly complying with the rest of the lords, and concurring always with their results when sitting in conjunction with them,) when alone, A. D. 1582. 25 Eliz. A form of discipline considered of by the brethren in a solemn

[a] [Arms. Or, on a chief indented sable three crescents argent. Third son of Thomas Harvey, esq. and Joan his wife, daughter of John Halke, esq., both of the county of Kent. He was brother to the celebrated Dr. William Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward lord Montague, of Boughton, Fuller's great friend. At the Restoration he was made ranger of Richmond Park, (17th Aug. 1660,) and was therefore undoubtedly a good royalist. Afterwards he was employed as ambassador at Constantinople, and received the honour of knighthood. The year of his death I have not discovered.]

A. D. 1582. 25 Eliz. synod, with the several decrees thereof.

engaged his affections in favour of the nonconformists, and improved his power (at this time very great with the queen) to obtain great liberty for them. Hence it was that many bishops, active in pressing subscription in their diocese, when repairing to court were checked and snibbed by this great favourite, to their no small grief and discouragement. Heartened hereat, the brethren, who hitherto had no particular platform of discipline amongst themselves, (as universally owned and practised by their party,) began in a solemn council held by them (but whether at Cambridge or London, uncertain) to conclude on a certain form, as followeth in these their decrees, faithfully translated out of their own Latin copy:

The Title thereof, viz.

" THESE BE THE THINGS THAT (DO SEEM) MAY WELL " STAND WITH THE PEACE OF THE CHURCH."

The Decrees[a].

" Let no man (though he be an university man) " offer himself to the ministry, nor let any man take " upon him an uncertain and vague ministry, though " it be offered unto him; but such as be called to " the ministry by some certain church, let them " impart it unto that *classis* or *conference* whereof " themselves are, or else to some greater church- " assembly; and if such shall be found fit by them, " then let them be commended by their letters unto

[a] Under Mr. Wight's hand, a man of the brotherhood; cited by bishop Bancroft his Dangerous Positions, p. 46, [Book III. c. 3.]

" the bishop, that they may be ordained ministers A. D. 1582. 25 Eliz.
" by him. Those ceremonies in the Book of Com-
" mon Prayer, which, being taken from popery, are
" in controversy, do seem that they ought to be
" omitted and given over, if it may be done without
" danger of being put from the ministry. But if
" there be any imminent danger to be deprived, then
" this matter must be communicated with the *classis*
" in which that church is, that by the judgment
" thereof it may be determined what ought to be
" done. If subscription to the Articles of Religion
" and to the *Book of Common Prayer* shall be again
" urged, it is thought that the *Book of Articles* may
" be subscribed unto, according to the statute 13
" Elizabeth; that is, unto such of them only as con-
" tain the sum of Christian faith and doctrine of the
" sacraments. But for many weighty causes, neither
" the rest of the Articles in that book, nor the *Book*
" *of Common Prayer*, may be allowed; no, though a
" man should be deprived of his ministry for it.

" It seemeth that churchwardens and collectors
" for the poor might thus be turned into elders, and
" into deacons.

" When they are to be chosen, let the church
" have warning, fifteen days before, of the time of
" election, and of the ordinance of the realm; but
" especially of Christ's ordinance, touching appoint-
" ing of watchmen and overseers in his church, who
" are to foresee that none offence or scandal do arise
" in the church; and if any shall happen, that by
" them it may be duly abolished.

" And touching deacons of both sorts, (viz. men
" and women,) the church shall be monished what is
" required by the apostle; and that they are not to

A. D. 1582. 25 Eliz.

" choose men of custom and of course, or for their " riches, but for their faith, zeal, and integrity; and " that the church is to pray, in the mean time, to " be so directed, that they make choice of men that " be meet.

" Let the names of such as are so chosen be pub- " lished the next Lord's day; and after that their " duties to the church, and the church's towards " them, shall be declared. Then let them be re- " ceived unto the ministry to which they are chosen, " with the general prayers of the whole church. The " brethren are to be requested to ordain a distribu- " tion of all churches according to these rules, in " that behalf, that are set down in the *Synodical* " *Discipline*, touching *classical, provincial, comitial,* " or of *commencements*, and *assemblies for the whole* " *kingdom.*

" The *classes* are to be required to keep acts of " memorable matters, which they shall see delivered " to the *comitial assembly*, that from thence they " may be brought by the *provincial assembly.*

" Also they are to deal earnestly with patrons, to " present fit men whensoever any church is fallen " void in that *classis.*

" The *comitial assemblies* are to be monished to " make collections for relief of the poor, and of " scholars; but especially for relief of such ministers " here as are put out for not subscribing to the " Articles tendered by the bishops; also for relief " of Scottish ministers and others, and for other " profitable and necessary uses.

" All the *provincial synods* must continually afore- " hand foresee, in due time, to appoint the keeping " of their next *provincial synods;* and for the send-

" ing of chosen persons, with certain instructions, A.D. 1582.
" unto the *national synod*, to be holden whensoever 25 Eliz.
" the parliament for the kingdom shall be called,
" and at some certain set time every year."

See we here the embryo of the presbyterian discipline, lying as yet, as it were, in the womb of episcopacy; though soon after it swelled so great, that the mother must violently be cut before the child could be delivered into the world, as to the public practice thereof.

2. Many observables in these decrees offer themselves to our consideration: Several observations on these decrees.

i. That they were written in Latin, (whereof they had two elegant penners, Cartwright and Travers,) shewing themselves no enemies to that tongue, which some ignorant sectaries afterward condemned for superstitious, counting every thing Romish which was Roman, and very cordials to be poison, if lapped up in Latin.

ii. Probably, as artists hang a curtain before their works, whilst yet imperfect, so these synodists thought fit in Latin as yet to veil their decrees from vulgar eyes, seeing nothing can be projected and perfected together; yea, the repetition of those words, " doth " seem," and " it seemeth," (carrying something of uncertainty in them,) sheweth these decrees as yet admitted but as probationers, expecting confirmation on their good behaviour.

iii. The election of the people is here made the essence of a call to a pastoral charge, to which the presentation of the most undoubted patron is called in, but *ad corroborandum*. As for institution from the bishop, it was superadded, not to complete his

A.D. 1582. 25 Eliz. ministerial function in point of conscience, but legally to enable the minister to recover his maintenance from the detainers thereof.

iv. Partial subscription is permitted to the Articles of Religion, viz. only to the doctrinal part thereof, but none to those wherein discipline is mentioned, especially to the clause at the end of the twentieth Article, "The church hath power to de- "cree rites and ceremonies," &c., accounted by the brethren the very sting in the tail of the locusts.

v. Those words, "If subscription shall be urged "again," plainly intimate that the reins of episcopal government were but loosely held, and the rigour thereof remitted, for the reasons by us fore-alleged.

vi. That churchwardens and collectors for the poor are so quickly convertible, even in their opinion, into elders and deacons, only with a more solemn and public election, shews the difference betwixt those officers to be rather nominal than real.

vii. By "women deacons," here mentioned, we understand such widows which the apostle appointeth in the primitive church to attend strangers and sick people, and which Mr. Cartwright affirmeth ought still to be continued [b]; although he confesseth "there be learned men think otherwise."

viii. Their "comitial assemblies," kept in the universities at the commencements, (wisely they had an eye on the two eyes of the land,) were conveniently chosen, as safely shadowed under a confluence of people. See we here, though the matter of their discipline might be *jure Divino*, human prudence concurred much in the making thereof, as in ordering

[b] In his Admonitions, p. 163, §. 2.

a "national synod" always to run parallel with the parliament. A. D. 1582. 25 Eliz.

ix. Mention being made of "relieving Scottish ministers," if any ask what northern tempest blew them hither, know they quitted their own country about this time, upon refusal of conformity, and found benevolence in England a better livelihood than a benefice in Scotland.

x. The grand design driven on in these decrees was, to set up a discipline in a discipline, presbytery in episcopacy, which, as appears in the preface, they thought "might well stand with the peace of the "church;" but this peace proved but a truce, this truce but a short one, before both parties brake into irreconcilable hostility.

Thus it is impossible to make a subordination in their practices, who have an opposition in their principles; for though such spheres and orbs which agree in one centre may proportionably move one within another, yet such as are eccentrical can never observe equal distance in their motion, but will sag aside to grind and grate one the other. But enough hereof at this time, having jetted out a little already into the next year; no offence, we hope, seeing it makes our history more entire in this subject.

3. This year Robert Dickons, a Leicestershire youth, but, it seems, apprentice at Mansell in Nottinghamshire, having parts and pregnancy above his age and profession, arrived at such a height of profaneness, as not only to pretend to visions, but account himself Elijah, sent from God to perfect some defects in the prophecy of Malachi. But by God's blessing on the endeavours of Mr. Henry A blasphemous heretic reclaimed.

A. D. 1582. 25 Eliz. Smith, (whom his uncle, Mr. Briant Cave, this year sheriff of Leicestershire, employed therein,) this heretic was reclaimed [c], renouncing his blasphemies by subscription under his own hand, and, for aught I find to the contrary, lived peaceably and painfully the remainder of his life.

The character of Mr. Henry Smith.

4. This is that Henry Smith, born at Withcock in Leicestershire, of a worshipful family, and elder brother to sir Roger Smith, (still surviving,) bred in Oxford; and afterwards became that famous preacher at St. Clement's Danes in London, commonly called the "silver-tongued Smith," being but one metal, in price and purity, beneath St. Chrysostom himself [d]. Yea, whereas generally the sermons of those days are now grown out of fashion, (such is our age's curiosity and affectation of novelty,) Smith's sermons keep up their constant credit, as appears by their daily impressions, calculated for all times, places, and persons: so solid, the learned may partly admire; so plain, the unlearned may perfectly understand them. The wonder of his worth is increased by the consideration of his tender age, dying very young about fifty years ago [e].

The death of Richard Bristow.

5. I find three of such, who seemed pillars in the Romish church, deceased this year: first, Richard Bristow, born in Worcestershire, bred in Oxford, in Exeter College, whence he fled beyond the seas, and by cardinal Allen was made overseer of the English

[c] See Mr. Smith's Sermon of the lost sheep found.

[d] [See some account of him in Wood's Athen. I. 263, and in Strype's Aylmer, p. 100. His sermons were collected by Fuller, in 4to., 1657, and he prefixed a life to them, containing very little information.]

[e] About the year 1600, as I am informed by his brother. [In 1593, according to Wood.]

college, first at Douay, then at Rheims. He wrote most in English, (*humili quidem stilo*, saith one of his own opinion [f],) but very solidly; for proof whereof, let his books against Dr. Fulke be perused. For the recovery of his health he was advised to return into his native land, and died quietly near the city of London [g]. A.D. 1582. 25 Eliz.

6. The second, Nicholas Harpsfield, bred first in Winchester School, then New College, in Oxford, where he proceeded doctor of law, and afterward became archdeacon of Canterbury. Under king Edward the Sixth, he banished himself; under queen Mary, he returned, and was advanced; and under queen Elizabeth, imprisoned for denying her supremacy. Yet such was his mild usage in restraint, that he had the opportunity to write much therein; and, amongst the rest, his Ecclesiastical History, no less learnedly than painfully performed [h]; and, abating his partiality to his own interest, well deserving of all posterity. He wrote also six dialogues in favour of his religion [i]; but, because in durance, he durst not set it forth in his own, but under the name of Alan Cope. Yet, lest truth should be concealed, and friend defraud friend of his due praise, he caused The death of Nicholas Harpsfield.

[f] Pitz. in Vita, p. 779.

[g] [18th Oct. 1581, according to Wood, Athen. I. 212, who has compiled a very accurate account of his life and writings. He was the author of a work in considerable repute among those of his own persuasion, entitled "Motiva omnibus Ca- "tholicæ Doctrinæ orthodoxis "cultoribus pernecessaria," &c. Attrebati, 4to., 1608. To this work a short account of the author is prefixed by Dr. Worthington.]

[h] [Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica, a primis gentis susceptæ fidei incunabulis ad nostra fere tempora deducta. Duac. fol. 1622.]

[i] [Dialogi sex contra summi pontificatus, monasticæ vitæ, sanctorum, sacrarum imaginum oppugnatores et pseudo-martyres. Antv. 1566. 4to., of which see Tanner's Biblioth. p. 199.]

A. D. 1582. 25 Eliz. these capital letters to be engraved at the end of his book:

A. H. L. N. H. E. V. E. A. C.

Hereby mystically meaning, *Auctor Hujus Libri Nicholaus Harpesfeldus. Edidit Vero Eum Alanus Copus.* He died this year, at London, in prison, after twenty years' restraint, leaving behind him the general reputation of a religious man [k].

The death of Gregory Martin.

7. The third, Gregory Martin, born at Macfield in Sussex, bred with Campian in St. John's College in Oxford; tutor to Philip earl of Arundel, eldest son to Thomas duke of Norfolk. Afterwards he went over beyond sea, and became divinity professor in the college of Rheims; died there October 28th, and is buried with a large epitaph under a plain monument [l].

Letter history best history.

8. I shall now withdraw myself, or at leastwise stand by, a silent spectator, whilst I make room for far my betters to come forth and speak in the present controversy of church government. Call it not cowardice, but count it caution in me, if desirous in this difference to lie at a close guard, and offer as little play as may be on either side, whilst the reader shall behold the masters of defence on both sides engaged therein in these following letters of state. Baronius, the great Roman annalist, was wont to say, *Epistolaris historia est optima historia*—"that "is the best history which is collected out of let-"ters." How much of the Acts of the Apostles (especially for the regulation of time) is contained in the Epistles of St. Paul! Of the Primitive His-

[k] [In 1583, according to Wood's Life of him, printed in the Athen. I. 214, and Tanner, 380.]

[l] [Pitz. in Vita, p. 781. See also the account of him in Wood's Athen. I. 213.]

tory the most authentical part is what is gathered out of the letters of the fathers; and in like manner the true estate of ecclesiastical affairs in the days of queen Elizabeth may be extracted out of the following despatches, and their returns, exhibiting the inclinations of their authors in pure naturals, without any adulterated addition, and therefore the surest for others' instruction, and safest for my own protection. A.D. 1582. 25 Eliz.

9. But one thing I must clear in our entrance thereon, in excuse that these letters are dateless as to the day and month, a great omission which I have seen in many originals, whose authors so minded the matter that they neglected the time; the present dispatching of them being date enough to their purpose, though now the want thereof leaves posterity at a loss. A blue coat without a badge is but a white coat in effect, as nothing informing the beholder to what lord the bearer thereof doth relate; and as little instructive, will some say, are these letters as to the point of chronology. But be it known that no reader's stomach can be so sharp set on the criticalness of chronology, but that, being fed with the certainty of the year, he will not be famished with the uncertainty of the month or day. Indeed, as such whose names are casually omitted in the register may recover the truth of their age by a comparative computation of their years who were born about the same time, so by the mixture and comparing of these dateless letters with those having date of secular affairs, I could competently have collected and inserted the time; save that I loathe to obtrude any thing conjectural on the reader's belief. But we must begin with the ensuing petition, as the groundwork of all the rest: Objection against letters' want of date answered.

A. D. 1583. 26 Eliz.

"The Ministers of Kent to the Privy Council [m].

The petition of the Kentish ministers.

"May it please your honours, of your great and "wonted favour towards the distressed, to consider "these following: Whereas we have been called to "subscribe, in the county of Kent, to certain Arti- "cles propounded by my lord's grace of Canterbury "unto the ministers and preachers: the first con- "cerning her majesty's authority; the second con- "cerning no contrariety to the word of God in the "Book of Common Prayer and administration of the "sacraments, the book of ordering bishops, priests, "and deacons; and the third, that we believe all "things in the book of the Articles of Religion to "be agreeable to the word of God. Whereupon all "have most willingly offered to subscribe unto the "other two; and being pronounced in the open "court, *contumaces reservata pœna*, and so referred "to answer at law the 11th and 13th of February, "which we feared would be prosecuted with much "trouble and no resolution to our consciences, we "amongst the rest repaired with that careful avoid- "ing, that we could, of offence to his lordship's "grace, to whom when we had the first day made "known some of our doubts concerning the first "book only, (many moe in number, and as great in "weight, concerning the first and second, and some "concerning the third remaining beside,) we have "upon our refusal, and record taken by public no- "tary of one point only from every particular refuser, "which moved him thereunto, and one place of "scripture adjoined without collection, or the reason

[m] [See Strype's Whitgift, p. 123.]

" of the same, been suspended from our ministry; A.D. 1583. 26 Eliz.
" by which occasion, as we fear that that account
" which hath been made of the consequence of our
" cause, both in public sermons and pronouncing
" of sentence against us, namely, that in denying to
" subscribe to the two aforesaid Articles, we sepa-
" rated ourselves from the church, and condemned
" the right service of God in prayer, and adminis-
" tration of the sacraments in the church of England,
" and the ministry of the same, and disobeyed her
" majesty's authority, hath been intimated to your
" honours. So we think it our bound duties, most
" humbly on our knees to beseech your honours to
" know and make manifest in our behalf to her
" majesty, that which we before the Lord in sim-
" plicity protest: we in all reverence judge of the
" authority which is established, and the persons
" which were authors of those books, that they did
" not only speak, but also did highly to the glory of
" God promote the true religion of God, and the
" glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, and that we so
" esteem of those books, and there is nothing in
" them to cause us to separate ourselves from the
" unity of the church, which in the execution of our
" ministry, in participation of the public prayers and
" sacraments, we have in our own example testified,
" and by public doctrine maintained; and that the
" ministry of the word preached, and public adminis-
" tration of the sacraments exercised in this land
" according to authority, is, as touching the substance
" of it, lawful and greatly blessed of God. And
" lastly, that we have and always will shew ourselves
" obedient to her majesty's authority in all causes
" ecclesiastical and civil, to whomsoever it be com-

A. D. 1583. 26 Eliz.

"mitted; and therefore, that as poor but most faith-
"ful subjects to her majesty, and ministers of Jesus
"Christ, the great cause we have in hand, and which
"consequently (as we under your honour's correction
"judge) the necessary reformation of many things
"in the church, according unto God's word, may
"have that sufficient hearing, as all causes of our
"refusal to subscribe may be known, and equally out
"of God's word judged of, and the lamentable estate
"of the churches to which we appertain, with the
"hard condition of us, may in that manner that
"your honours' most excellent wisdom shall find
"expedient in the pity of Jesus Christ, for the mean
"time be relieved. The Lord Almighty vouchsafe,
"for Jesus Christ his sake, long to continue and
"bless your honours' wisdom and council, to the
"great glory of God and the happy government of
"her majesty, and flourishing estate of this church
"of England!

"Your Honours' daily and faithful Orators,
"The MINISTERS OF KENT,
"which are suspended from the
"execution of their ministry [n]."

The lords of the council sent this petition, with another bill of complaint exhibited unto them against Edmond Freak, bishop of Norwich, unto the arch-

[n] [One of the principal movers of this address was a turbulent and conceited person named Dudley Fenner, who had no cure, nor was a graduate of either university. He was the author of that farce, which afterwards prevailed to a great extent in this kingdom, of giving strange names in baptism; such as *Joy again, From above, More Fruit, Dust,* &c. See Strype, ibid. p. 124, 137, where the tracts of these ministers are summed up in a paper from this man's writings.]

bishop of Canterbury. What his answer was there- A. D. 1583. 26 Eliz.
unto the reader may inform himself out of the following letter:

"To the Lords of the Council.

"Most Honourable,

"Upon Sunday last, in the afternoon, master "Beale brought unto me, in your lordships' names, "two supplications or bills of complaint exhibited "unto your lordships: the one by certain ministers "of Suffolk [o], against their diocesan there; the other "by some of Kent, against myself; with this further "message, that it was your desires I should come "to the court on Sunday next. It may please your "good lordships to be advertised, that it seemeth "something strange to me that the ministers of "Suffolk, finding themselves aggrieved with the "doings of their diocesan, should leave the ordinary "course of proceeding by law, (which is to appeal "unto me,) and extraordinarily trouble your lordships "in a matter not so incident, as I think, to that "most honourable board; seeing it hath pleased her "majesty her own self in express words to commit "these causes ecclesiastical to me, as to one who is "to make answer to God, to her majesty in this "behalf, my office also and place requiring the "same. The archbishop's letter in answer thereof.

"In answer of the complaint of the Suffolk men "of their ordinary's proceeding against them, I have "herewith sent to your lordships a copy of a letter "which I lately received from his lordship, wherein "I think that part of their bill to be fully answered,

[o] [See Strype's Annals, III. 264.]

A.D. 1583. 26 Eliz. " and his doings to have been orderly and charitable.
" Touching the rest of their bill, I know not what
" to judge of it, neither yet of what spirit it cometh;
" but in some points it talketh, as I think, modestly
" and charitably. They say they are no Jesuits sent
" from Rome to reconcile, &c. True it is, neither
" are they charged to be so; but notwithstanding
" they are contentious in the church of England,
" and by their contentions minister occasion of offence
" to those which are seduced by Jesuits, and give
" the arguments against the form of public prayer
" used in this church and by law established, and
" thereby increase the number of them, and confirm
" them in their wilfulness. They also make a schism
" in the church, and draw many other of her ma-
" jesty's subjects to a misliking of her laws and
" government in causes ecclesiastical; so far are
" they from persuading them to obedience, or at
" least, if they persuade them to it in the one part
" of her authority, (it is in causes civil,) they dis-
" suade them from it as much in the other, (that is,
" in causes ecclesiastical;) so that indeed they pluck
" down with the one hand that which they seem to
" build with the other. They say that they have
" faithfully travelled in persuading to obedience, &c.,
" and have therein prevailed, &c. It is but their
" own testimony: I think it were hard for them to
" shew whom they converted from papistry to the
" gospel; but what stirs and dissensions they have
" made amongst those which professed the gospel
" before they were taught by them, I think it to be
" apparent. It is notorious that in king Edward's
" time, and in the beginning of her majesty's reign,
" for the space of divers years, when this selfsame

" book of public prayers was uniformly used, &c., by A. D. 1583. 26 Eliz.
" all learned preachers maintained, and impugned
" by none, the gospel mightily prevailed, took great
" increase, and very few were known to refuse to
" communicate with us in prayer and participation
" of the sacraments. But since this schism and
" division, the contrary effect hath fallen out; and
" how can it otherwise be, seeing we ourselves con-
" demn that public form and order of prayer and
" administration of the sacraments, as in divers
" points contrary to the word of God, from which
" (as in like manner condemning the same) the
" papists do absent themselves. In the latter part of
" their bill, containing the reasons why they cannot
" submit themselves to observe the form prescribed
" by the book in all points, I wonder either at their
" ignorance or audacity: they say that the learned
" writers of our time have shewed their mislikings
" of some of our ceremonies. The most learned
" writers in our times have not so done, but rather
" reproved the mislikers; those few that have given
" contrary judgment therein have done more rashly
" than learnedly, presuming to give their censures of
" such a church as this is, not understanding the
" fruits of the cause, nor alleging any reason worth
" the hearing, especially one little college in either
" of our universities, containing in it more learned
" men than in their cities. But if the authority of
" men so greatly move them, why make they so
" small account of those most excellent and learned
" fathers who were the penners of the book? where-
" of divers have sealed their religion with their
" blood, which none yet have done of the impugners
" of the book. The pope, say they, hath changed

A.D. 1583. 26 Eliz.

" his *officium B. Mariæ*, &c. And so it is; neither " is there any man that doubteth but the Book of " Common Prayer may also be altered, if there ap- " pear good cause why to those in authority. But " the pope will not suffer that *officium B. Mariæ*, " &c. to be preached against, or any part thereof, " till it was by public order reformed; neither will " he confess that he hath reformed it in respect of " any errors, but such only as did creep in to the " said book through private men's affections, without " authority. Therefore that argument is against " them, and only used by them, as it seemeth, in " contempt; the rest is frivolous, and argueth their " presumption in writing this to so honourable a " board of so worthy and godly a book, which hath " an hundred learned men to justify it for one that " will impugn it. And thus much concerning them " which I have written rather to satisfy your lord- " ships, than that I thought the matter worthy my " labour. The complaint which those of Kent (being " of my own diocese, and by oath bound to me in " canonical obedience) have exhibited unto your " lordships, doth make me more to wonder, that " they, most of them being unlearned and young, " (such as I would be loath to admit into the minis- " try, if they were not already admitted thereunto, " much less to allow as preachers,) dare presume to " bring my doings against them into question before " your lordships, seeing I have done nothing but " that which God, the law, her majesty, and my " duty forceth me unto; dealing with them not as " an archbishop with the inferior sort of the clergy, " nor as a master of a college with his fellows, nor " as a magistrate with his inferiors, but as a friend

" and a brother, which, as I think, hath so puffed A. D. 1583. 26 Eliz.
" them up, and caused them to be so presumptuous.
" They came to me unsent for, in a multitude, which
" I reproved, because it imported a conspiracy, and
" had the shew of a tumult or unlawful assembly.
" Notwithstanding I was content to hear their com-
" plaint; I spent with them the whole afternoon,
" from two of the clock till seven, and heard their
" reasons, whereof some were frivolous and childish,
" some irreligious, and all of them such as gave me
" occasion to think that they rather sought quarrel
" against the book, than to be satisfied; which in-
" deed is true, as appeareth by some of their own
" confessions, which I am able to shew when I shall
" be thereunto urged. The two whole days following
" I spent likewise, for the most part, in dealing
" severally with them, requiring them to give unto
" me the chief and principal of their reasons which
" moved them not to subscribe, meaning to hear
" them in the rest if I could have satisfied them in
" it, or else not to spend any further time; which
" reasons (if I may so term them) they gave unto
" me, and I have and mean to make known when
" occasion shall serve. Whereas they say in their bill
" that the public administration of the sacraments in
" this land is, as touching the substance of it, lawful,
" &c., they say no more than the papists themselves
" do confess, and in truth they say nothing in effect
" to that wherewith they are charged; and yet there-
" in they are contrary to themselves, for they have
" pretended matter of substance against the book.
" But of what spirit cometh it that they, being no
" otherwise than they are, dare to the greatest autho-
" rity in this land next to her majesty so boldly offer

A. D. 1583. 26 Eliz. "themselves, thus to reason and dispute, as in their "bill they vaunt against the state established in "matters of religion, and against the book so learn- "edly and painfully penned, and by so great autho- "rity from time to time confirmed. It is not for me "to sit in this place, if every curate within my "diocese or province may be permitted so to use "me; neither is it possible for me to perform the "duty which her majesty looketh for at my hands, "if I may not without interruption proceed in exe- "cution of that which her highness hath especially "committed unto me. The gospel can take no "success, neither the number of papists be dimi- "nished, if unity be not procured; which I am not "in doubt in short time to bring to pass, without "any great ado or inconvenience at all, if it be not "hindered. The number of those which refuse to "subscribe is not great; in most parts of my pro- "vince not one, in some very few, and in some none, "whereof many also and the greater part are un- "learned and unworthy the ministry. In mine own "little diocese in Canterbury threescore preachers "and above have subscribed; whereas there are not "ten worthy the name of preachers which have as "yet refused, and most of them also not allowed "preachers by lawful authority; and so I know it "to be in all other dioceses within my province, the "diocese of Norwich only excepted; wherein never- "theless the number of the disordered is far less "than the number of such as are obedient and "quietly disposed. Now if these few disordered "(which the church may well spare, having meeter "men to place in their rooms) shall be countenanced "against the best, the wisest in all respects, the

" worthiest, and in effect the whole state of the A. D. 1583.
" clergy, it will not only discourage the dutiful and 26 Eliz.
" obedient persons, but so increase the schism, that
" there will never hereafter be hope of appeasing
" the same. This disordered flocking together of
" them at this time from divers places, and gadding
" from one to another, argueth a conspiracy amongst
" them, and some hope of encouragement, and of
" prevailing; which I am persuaded is not meant,
" nor shall ever be by me willingly consented unto.
" Some of them have already, as I am informed,
" bruited abroad that your lordships have sent for
" me to answer their complaints, and that they hope
" to be delivered; wherein I know they report un-
" truly, as the manner is, for I cannot be persuaded
" that your lordships have any such intent as to
" make me a party, or to call my doings into ques-
" tion, which from her majesty are immediately com-
" mitted unto me, and wherein, as I suppose, I have
" no other judge but herself. And forasmuch as I
" am by God and her majesty lawfully, without any
" ordinary or extraordinary or unlawful means, called
" to this place and function, and appointed to be
" your pastor, and to have the greatest charge over
" you in matters pertaining to the soul, I am the
" more bold to move and desire you to aid and assist
" me in matters belonging to my office; namely, such
" as appertain to the quietness of the church, the
" credit of religion established, and the maintenance
" of the laws made for the same. And here I do
" protest and testify unto your lordships, that the
" three Articles whereunto they are moved to sub-
" scribe are such as I am ready by learning to defend,
" in manner and form as they are set down, against

A. D. 1583. 26 Eliz. "all mislikers thereof in England or elsewhere. And "thus desiring your lordships to take this my answer "in good part, and to forbear my coming thither in "respect of this advantage that may be taken thereof "by these wayward persons, I beseech Almighty "God long to prosper you.

"Your good Lordships' in Christ,

"JOHN CANTUAR."

The character of Mr. Beale, who brought the bills.

Who this Mr. Beale was who brought these letters, is worthy our inquiry. I find his Christian name Robert, his office clerk of the council, his abilities very great, as may appear by the public negociations wherein he was employed; for he was joined with sir William Winter, anno 1576, in a commission to the Zealanders, about their reprisals; and again, anno 1583, he was sent to the queen of Scots, sharply to expostulate with her concerning some querulous letters. Well knew queen Elizabeth what tools to use on knotty timber, our author giving Mr. Beale this character, that he was *homo vehemens, et austere acerbus* [p],—an eager man, and most austerely bitter. His affections were wholly presbyterian, and I behold him as one of the best friends (of the second magnitude) that party had. What he wanted in authority,

p Camdeni Elizabetha, p. 359. [He was a man of more zeal than discretion. He advised Cecil that the parliaments under queen Mary should be declared void, the title of *Supreme Head* having been left out of the summons; which counsel Cecil very wisely rejected. See Burnet, II. 753. He was also a very bitter enemy to Mary queen of Scots, treating her with much indecent severity, for which he afterwards fell into disgrace. He has given some account both of himself and his foreign employments in a letter to the lord treasurer, printed in Strype's Annals, IV. p. 82.]

he had in activity on their sides; and what influence sometimes the hands have on the head (I mean notaries on the judges themselves) at council-board, others may conjecture. He either compiled or countenanced a book made against the bishops; and the reader may receive a further confirmation of his character herein from the following complaint: A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

" To the Lord Treasurer [q].

" My singular good Lord,

" I have borne much with Mr. Beale's intempe- Archbishop Whitgift his letter complaining of Beale's insolent carriage towards him.
" rate speeches, unseemly for him to use, though not
" in respect of myself, yet in respect of her majesty
" whom he serveth, and of the laws established,
" whereunto he ought to shew some duty. Yester-
" day he came to my house, as it seemed to demand
" the book he delivered unto me; I told him that
" the book was written to me, and therefore no
" reason why he should require it again, especially
" seeing I was assured that he had a copy thereof,
" otherwise I would cause it to be written out for
" him; whereupon he fell into very great passions
" with me (which I think was the end of his coming)
" for proceeding in the execution of his Articles, &c.,
" and told me in effect that I would be the over-
" throw of this church, and a cause of tumult, with
" many other bitter and hard speeches, which I heard
" patiently, and wished him to consider with what
" spirit he was moved so to say; for I said it cannot
" be by the Spirit of God, because the Spirit of God
" worketh in men humility, patience, and love, and

[q] [A more correct copy of part of this letter will be found in Strype's Whitgift, p. 147.]

A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz. " your words declare you to be very arrogant, proud, " impatient, and uncharitable. Moreover the Spirit " of God moveth men to hear the word of God with " meekness, &c.; and you have almost heard with " disdain every sermon preached before her majesty " this Lent, gibing and gesting openly thereat even " in the sermon time, to the offence of many, and " especially at such sermons as did most commend " her majesty and the state, and moved the auditory " to obedience; which he confessed and justified, " accusing some of the preachers of false doctrine " and wrong allegations of scripture, &c. Then he " began to extol his book [r], and said we were never " able to answer it, neither for the matter of divinity " nor yet of law. I told him, as the truth is, that " there was no great substance in the book, that it " might be very soon answered, and that it did " appear neither his divinity nor law to be great. " I further wished him to be better advised of his " doings, and told him indeed that he was one of the " principal causes of the waywardness of divers, be- " cause he giveth encouragement to divers of them " to stand in the matter, telling them that the Arti- " cles shall be shortly revoked by the council, and " that my hands shall be stopped, &c.; which saying " is spread abroad already in every place, and is the " only cause why many forbear to subscribe; which " is true, neither could he deny it. All this while I " talked with him privately in the upper part of my " gallery, my lord of Winchester and divers strangers " being in the other part thereof; but Mr. Beale " beginning to extend his voice that all might hear,

[r] [See an abstract of its contents in Strype's Whitgift, p. 143.]

" I began to break off; then he, being more and A.D. 1584.
" more kindled, very impatiently uttered very proud 26 Eliz.
" and contemptuous speeches in the justifying of his
" book and condemning of the orders established, to
" the offence of all the hearers; whereunto (being
" very desirous to be rid of him) I made small an-
" swer, but told him that his speeches were intole-
" rable, that he forgat himself, and that I would
" complain of him to her majesty; whereof he seemed
" to make small account, and so he departed in great
" heat. I am loath to hurt him, or to be an accuser,
" neither will I proceed therein further than your
" lordship shall think it convenient; but I never was
" abused more by any man, at any time in my life,
" than I have been by him since my coming to this
" place, in hardness of speech for doing my duty, and
" for all things belonging to my charge. Surely, my
" lord, this talk tendeth only to the increasing of the
" contention, and to the animating of the wayward
" in their waywardness, casting out dangerous speeches
" as though there were likelihood of some tumult in
" respect thereof; whereas in truth, God be thanked,
" the matter groweth to greater quietness than I
" think he wisheth, and will be soon quieted if we
" be let alone, and they not otherwise encouraged.
" It seemeth he is some way discontented, and would
" work his anger on me. The tongues of these men
" taste not of the Spirit of God. Your lordship
" seeth how bold I am to impart unto you my
" private causes. Truly if it were not that my con-
" science is settled in these matters, and that I am
" fully persuaded of the necessity of these proceed-
" ings in respect of the peace of the church and due
" observation of God's laws, and that I received great

A.D. 1584. 26 Eliz. "comfort at her majesty's hand, (as I did most effec-
"tually at my last being at the court,) and that I
"were assured of your lordship's constancy in the
"cause, and of your unmovable good-will towards
"me, I should be hardly able to endure so great a
"burden, which now, I thank God, in respect of the
"premises seemeth easy unto me, neither do I doubt
"but God will therein prosper me. Thus being de-
"sirous to impart this matter to your lordship, to
"whose consideration I leave it, I commit you to
"the tuition of Almighty God.

"[From my house at Lambeth, May 6th, 1584.]

"JOHN CANTUAR."

Nor have I aught else to say of this Mr. Beale [s], but that afterwards I find one of his name and quality dying 1601 [t], and buried in London, at Allhallows in the Wall, who by all probability should be the same person. Now that the presbyterian party was not unfriended at the council-board, but had those there which (either out of dictates of their conscience, or reasons of state, or reflections on their private interests) endeavoured to mitigate the archbishop's proceedings against them, let their ensuing letter to him be perused [u]:

[s] [Strype has given several instances of the vulgar impertinence and conceitedness of this man. See particularly the Life of Whitgift, p. 148.]

[t] Robert Beale, esq. Stow's Survey of London, p. 183.

[u] [This letter was directed to Aylmer, bishop of London, as well as to the archbishop. A more correct copy of it is printed in Strype's Whitgift, p. 166. But in justification of Fuller's accuracy, it must be observed that in general such letters which he has printed, and which I have had an opportunity of comparing with the originals, are given very exactly; and these letters, which he professes to have extracted from Whitgift's copy-book, are probably as correctly printed as the rest, although they differ

A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

The privy counsellors' letter to the archbishop, in favour of the nonconformists.

"After our hearty commendations to both your "lordships, although we have heard of late times "sundry complaints out of divers countries of this "realm, of some proceedings against a great number "of ecclesiastical persons, some parsons of churches, "some vicars, some curates, but all preachers; where- "by some were deprived of their livings, some sus- "pended from their ministry and preaching: yet we "have forborne to enter into any particular exami- "nation of such complaints, thinking that howsoever "inferior officers (as chancellors, commissaries, arch- "deacons, and such-like, whose offices are of more "value and profit by such-like kind of proceedings) "might in such sort proceed against the ministers "of the church, yet your lordship, the archbishop "of that province of Canterbury, have besides your "general authority some particular interest in the "present jurisdiction of sundry bishoprics vacant. "And you also, the bishop of London, both for your "own authority in your diocese, and as head com- "missioner ecclesiastical, would have a pastoral [re- "gard] over the particular officers, to stay and tem- "per them in their hasty proceedings against the "ministers, and especially against such as do ear- "nestly profess and instruct the people against the "dangerous sects of papistry; but yet of late, hear- "ing of the lamentable estate of the church in the "county of Essex, that is, of a great number of "zealous and learned preachers there suspended "from their cures, the vacancy of the places for the

much from Strype's copies. The reason is evident: Strype transcribed the originals which were actually sent to the different persons; Fuller the rough drafts; and such discrepancies are not unusual. See the letters of Fox in the former pages of this History.]

A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

" most part, without any ministry of preaching,
" prayers, and sacraments, and in some places of
" certain appointed to those void rooms, being per-
" sons neither of learning nor of good name, and in
" other places of that county a great number of
" parsons occupying the cures being notoriously
" unfit, most for lack of learning, many charged or
" chargeable with great and enormous faults, as
" drunkenness, filthiness of life, gaming at cards,
" haunting of alehouses, and such-like, against whom
" we hear not of any proceedings, but that they are
" quietly suffered, to the slander of the church, to
" the offence of good people, yea to the famishing of
" them for lack of good teaching, and thereby dan-
" gerous to the subverting of many weaklings from
" their duties to God and the queen's majesty, by
" secret Jesuits and counterfeit papists; and having
" thus in a general sort heard out of many parts, of
" the like, of this lamentable estate of the church, yet
" to the intent we should not be deceived with the
" generality of reports, we sought to be informed of
" some particulars, namely, of some parts of Essex;
" and having received the same credibly in writing, we
" have thought it our duties to her majesty and the
" realm, for the remedy hereof, without intermeddling
" ourselves with your jurisdiction ecclesiastical, to
" make report unto your lordships, as persons that
" ought most specially to have regard thereto, as
" we hope you will, and therefore have sent you
" herewith in writing a catalogue of the names of
" persons of sundry natures and conditions; that is,
" one sort, being reported to be learned, zealous,
" and good preachers, deprived and suspended, and
" so the cures not served with meet persons; the

" other sort a number of persons, having cures, being A. D. 1584.
" in sundry sorts far unmeet for any offices in the 26 Eliz.
" church, for their many defects and imperfections,
" and so, as it seems by the reports, have been and
" are suffered to continue without reprehension or
" any other proceedings against them, and thereby a
" great number of Christian people untaught, a mat-
" ter very lamentable in this time; in a third sort a
" number having double livings with cure, and so
" not resident upon their cures, but yet enjoying the
" benefit of their benefices without any personal
" attendance upon their cures. Against all these
" sorts of lewd, evil, unprofitable, and corrupt mem-
" bers, we hear of no inquisition, nor of any kind of
" proceeding to the reformation of those horrible
" offences in the church, but yet of great diligence,
" yea, and extremity used against those that are
" known diligent preachers. Now therefore we, for
" the discharge of our duties, being by our vocation
" under her majesty bound to be careful that the
" universal realm may be well governed, to the
" honour and glory of God, and to the discharge of
" her majesty, being the principal governor over all
" her subjects under Almighty God, do most ear-
" nestly desire your lordships to take some charitable
" consideration of these causes, that the people of
" the realm may not be deprived of their pastors,
" being diligent, learned, and zealous, though in
" some points ceremonial, they may seem doubtful
" only in conscience, and not of wilfulness; nor that
" their cures be suffered to be vacant without good
" pastors, nor that such as be placed in the rooms
" of cures be insufficient for learning or unmeet for
" their conversation. And though the notes which

A.D. 1584. 26 Eliz. "we send you be only of parsons belonging to Essex, "yet we pray you to look into the rest of the coun- "try in many other dioceses; for we have and do "hear daily of the like in generality in many other "places, but we have not sought to have their par- "ticulars so manifestly delivered of other places as "of Essex, or rather, to say the truth, of one corner "of the country. And we shall be most glad to "hear of your cares to be taken for remedy of these "enormities, so as we be not troubled hereafter, or "hear of the like complaints to continue; and so "we bid your good lordships right heartily farewell.

"[Dated from Oatlands, the 20th of September, "1584.]

"Your Lordships' loving Friends,

"WILLIAM BURLEY,
"GEORGE SHREWSBURY,
"A. WARWICK,
"R. LEICESTER,
"C. HOWARD,
"I. CROFT,
"CHRISTOPHER HATTON,
"FRANCIS WALSINGHAM [x]."

[x] [Upon this letter, which was procured from the privy council by the discontented ministers of Essex, principally through the mediation of some potent courtiers, who conceived that they might best promote their designs upon the church lands by flattering this discontented party, honest Strype makes the following observation: "This letter of the lords, "*so careful for the good estate* "of the church, was grounded "chiefly, as we see, upon sur- "mises which they had taken "up from the information and "reports of the disaffected "faction concerning the great "abilities and learning of them- "selves, and the ignorance and "scandalous lives of the obe- "dient and conformable clergy; "which, however, was in a "great part false and uncha- "ritably given out." The weakness and ignorance of this self-conceited party has been

Amongst these privy counsellors I miss one who was mainly material, namely, sir Francis Knowles, treasurer of the queen's household, and knight of the garter, father-in-law to the earl of Leicester, and no less considerable in himself than in his relations. This knight being bred a banished man in Germany during the reign of queen Mary, and conversing with Mr. Calvin at Geneva, was never after fond of episcopacy, and though now casually absent from the council-board, was a great patron of the nonconformists [y]. But see the archbishop's answer to their letter [z]: A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

" It may please your good lordships to be adver- The archbishop's answer to the privy councellors' letter.
" tised that I have received your letters of the twen-
" tieth of this month [a], with a schedule inclosed therein,
" concerning certain ministers in Essex; whereunto
" as yet I cannot make any full answer, by reason of
" the absence of my lord of London, to whom the
" letter is also directed, and the parties therein
" named best known as being in his diocese. Never-
" theless, in the mean time, I thought it my part to
" signify unto your lordships that I hope the infor-
" mation to be in most parts unjust. Certain men
" being in and about Maldon, because they cannot
" have such among them as by disorderliness do
" best content their humours, did not long since in
" like manner, in a generality, make an information

often enough exposed, but they have not ceased to repeat the same falsehoods against men much wiser and better than themselves.]

[y] [In confirmation of this statement, see his letter to lord Burghley, full indeed of crude notions and bad reasoning.]

[z] [A more correct copy of this letter will also be found in Strype's Whitgift, p. 167.]

[a] [September.]

A.D. 1584. 26 Eliz. "we send you be only of parsons belonging to Essex, "yet we pray you to look into the rest of the coun- "try in many other dioceses; for we have and do "hear daily of the like in generality in many other "places, but we have not sought to have their par- "ticulars so manifestly delivered of other places as "of Essex, or rather, to say the truth, of one corner "of the country. And we shall be most glad to "hear of your cares to be taken for remedy of these "enormities, so as we be not troubled hereafter, or "hear of the like complaints to continue; and so "we bid your good lordships right heartily farewell.

"[Dated from Oatlands, the 20th of September, "1584.]

"Your Lordships' loving Friends,

"WILLIAM BURLEY,
"GEORGE SHREWSBURY,
"A. WARWICK,
"R. LEICESTER,
"C. HOWARD,
"I. CROFT,
"CHRISTOPHER HATTON,
"FRANCIS WALSINGHAM [x]."

[x] [Upon this letter, which was procured from the privy council by the discontented ministers of Essex, principally through the mediation of some potent courtiers, who conceived that they might best promote their designs upon the church lands by flattering this discontented party, honest Strype makes the following observation: "This letter of the lords, "*so careful for the good estate* "of the church, was grounded "chiefly, as we see, upon sur- "mises which they had taken "up from the information and "reports of the disaffected "faction concerning the great "abilities and learning of them- "selves, and the ignorance and "scandalous lives of the obe- "dient and conformable clergy; "which, however, was in a "great part false and uncha- "ritably given out." The weakness and ignorance of this self-conceited party has been

Amongst these privy counsellors I miss one who was mainly material, namely, sir Francis Knowles, treasurer of the queen's household, and knight of the garter, father-in-law to the earl of Leicester, and no less considerable in himself than in his relations. This knight being bred a banished man in Germany during the reign of queen Mary, and conversing with Mr. Calvin at Geneva, was never after fond of episcopacy, and though now casually absent from the council-board, was a great patron of the nonconformists [y]. But see the archbishop's answer to their letter [z]: A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

The archbishop's answer to the privy councellors' letter.

"It may please your good lordships to be advertised that I have received your letters of the twentieth of this month [a], with a schedule inclosed therein, concerning certain ministers in Essex; whereunto as yet I cannot make any full answer, by reason of the absence of my lord of London, to whom the letter is also directed, and the parties therein named best known as being in his diocese. Nevertheless, in the mean time, I thought it my part to signify unto your lordships that I hope the information to be in most parts unjust. Certain men being in and about Maldon, because they cannot have such among them as by disorderliness do best content their humours, did not long since in like manner, in a generality, make an information

often enough exposed, but they have not ceased to repeat the same falsehoods against men much wiser and better than themselves.]

[y] [In confirmation of this statement, see his letter to lord Burghley, full indeed of crude notions and bad reasoning.]

[z] [A more correct copy of this letter will also be found in Strype's Whitgift, p. 167.]

[a] [September.]

A.D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

" we send you be only of parsons belonging to Essex,
" yet we pray you to look into the rest of the coun-
" try in many other dioceses; for we have and do
" hear daily of the like in generality in many other
" places, but we have not sought to have their par-
" ticulars so manifestly delivered of other places as
" of Essex, or rather, to say the truth, of one corner
" of the country. And we shall be most glad to
" hear of your cares to be taken for remedy of these
" enormities, so as we be not troubled hereafter, or
" hear of the like complaints to continue; and so
" we bid your good lordships right heartily farewell.
" [Dated from Oatlands, the 20th of September,
" 1584.]

" Your Lordships' loving Friends,

" WILLIAM BURLEY,
" GEORGE SHREWSBURY,
" A. WARWICK,
" R. LEICESTER,
" C. HOWARD,
" I. CROFT,
" CHRISTOPHER HATTON,
" FRANCIS WALSINGHAM [x]."

[x] [Upon this letter, which was procured from the privy council by the discontented ministers of Essex, principally through the mediation of some potent courtiers, who conceived that they might best promote their designs upon the church lands by flattering this discontented party, honest Strype makes the following observation: " This letter of the lords, " *so careful for the good estate* " of the church, was grounded " chiefly, as we see, upon sur- " mises which they had taken " up from the information and " reports of the disaffected " faction concerning the great " abilities and learning of them- " selves, and the ignorance and " scandalous lives of the obe- " dient and conformable clergy; " which, however, was in a " great part false and uncha- " ritably given out." The weakness and ignorance of this self-conceited party has been

Amongst these privy counsellors I miss one who was mainly material, namely, sir Francis Knowles, treasurer of the queen's household, and knight of the garter, father-in-law to the earl of Leicester, and no less considerable in himself than in his relations. This knight being bred a banished man in Germany during the reign of queen Mary, and conversing with Mr. Calvin at Geneva, was never after fond of episcopacy, and though now casually absent from the council-board, was a great patron of the nonconformists[y]. But see the archbishop's answer to their letter[z]: A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

The archbishop's answer to the privy counsellors' letter.

"It may please your good lordships to be adver-
"tised that I have received your letters of the twen-
"tieth of this month[a], with a schedule inclosed therein,
"concerning certain ministers in Essex; whereunto
"as yet I cannot make any full answer, by reason of
"the absence of my lord of London, to whom the
"letter is also directed, and the parties therein
"named best known as being in his diocese. Never-
"theless, in the mean time, I thought it my part to
"signify unto your lordships that I hope the infor-
"mation to be in most parts unjust. Certain men
"being in and about Maldon, because they cannot
"have such among them as by disorderliness do
"best content their humours, did not long since in
"like manner, in a generality, make an information

often enough exposed, but they have not ceased to repeat the same falsehoods against men much wiser and better than themselves.]

y [In confirmation of this statement, see his letter to lord Burghley, full indeed of crude notions and bad reasoning.]

z [A more correct copy of this letter will also be found in Strype's Whitgift, p. 167.]

a [September.]

A.D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

" we send you be only of parsons belonging to Essex,
" yet we pray you to look into the rest of the coun-
" try in many other dioceses; for we have and do
" hear daily of the like in generality in many other
" places, but we have not sought to have their par-
" ticulars so manifestly delivered of other places as
" of Essex, or rather, to say the truth, of one corner
" of the country. And we shall be most glad to
" hear of your cares to be taken for remedy of these
" enormities, so as we be not troubled hereafter, or
" hear of the like complaints to continue; and so
" we bid your good lordships right heartily farewell.
" [Dated from Oatlands, the 20th of September,
" 1584.]

" Your Lordships' loving Friends,

" WILLIAM BURLEY,
" GEORGE SHREWSBURY,
" A. WARWICK,
" R. LEICESTER,
" C. HOWARD,
" I. CROFT,
" CHRISTOPHER HATTON,
" FRANCIS WALSINGHAM [x]."

[x] [Upon this letter, which was procured from the privy council by the discontented ministers of Essex, principally through the mediation of some potent courtiers, who conceived that they might best promote their designs upon the church lands by flattering this discontented party, honest Str[illegible] makes the following ob[illegible] tion: "This letter of t[illegible] " *so careful for the* [illegible] " of the church, [illegible] " chiefly, as we see, upon sur- " mises which they had taken " up from the information and " reports of the disaffected " faction concerning the great " abilities and learning of them- " selves, and the ignorance and " scandalous lives of the obe- " dient and conformable clergy; [illegible] however, was in [illegible] false and u[illegible] [illegible] out." [illegible] [illegible] pas[illegible]

Amongst these privy counsellors I miss one who was mainly material, namely, sir Francis Knowles, treasurer of the queen's household, and knight of the garter, father-in-law to the earl of Leicester, and no less considerable in himself than in his relations. This knight being bred a banished man in Germany during the reign of queen Mary, and conversing with Mr. Calvin at Geneva, was never after fond of episcopacy, and though now casually absent from the council-board, was a great patron of the nonconformists[y]. But see the archbishop's answer to their letter[z]: A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

" It may please your good lordships to be adver- The archbishop's answer to the privy councellors' letter.
" tised that I have received your letters of the twen-
" tieth of this month[a], with a schedule inclosed therein,
" concerning certain ministers in Essex; whereunto
" as yet I cannot make any full answer, by reason of
" the absence of my lord of London, to whom the
" letter is also directed, and the parties therein
" named best known as being in his diocese. Never-
" theless, in the mean time, I thought it my part to
" signify unto your lordships that I hope the infor-
" mation to be in most parts unjust. Certain men
" being in and about Maldon, because they cannot
" have such among them as by disorderliness do
" best content their humours, did not long since in
" like manner, in a generality, make an information

often e… …posed, but they
have … to repeat the
sam… …s against men
m… …d better than
t…

…ation of this
…s letter to lord Burghley, full indeed of crude notions and bad reasoning.]

[z] [A more correct copy of this letter will also be found in Strype's Whitgift, p. 167.]

[a] [September.]

A.D. 1584. 26 Eliz. "to the same effect, which coming to mine and "others' hands of the ecclesiastical commission, we "did direct our letters to some of the principal "of them by name, requiring them to exhibit unto "us, at the beginning of this next term now next "ensuing, the names of such offensive ministers as "they thought to be touched with such dishonest "conversation, together with their proofs thereof, "promising on our parts to see the same redressed "accordingly. It seemeth by this which is exhibited "now to your lordships they have prevented the "time, hoping thereby to alter the course. Where-"unto it tendeth, I leave to your lordships' consider-"ation. Surely if the ministers be such as this "schedule reporteth, they are worthy to be griev-"ously punished; and, for my own part, I will not "be slack or remiss (God willing) therein; but if "that fall out otherwise upon trial, and that they or "many of them, in respect of their obedience to "her majesty's laws, be thus depraved by such as "impugn the same, then I doubt not but your lord-"ship will judge those accusers to deserve just pu-"nishment. This I can assure your lordships of, "that my lord of London affirmed in my hearing "that not long since, upon that occasion that none "or few, at his or his archdeacon's visitations, had "at any time by the churchwardens or sworn men "been detected or presented for any such misde-"meanors as are now supposed against them. Of "the preachers which are said to be put there to "silence, I know but few; notwithstanding I know "those few to be very factious in the church, con-"temners in sundry points of the ecclesiastical laws, "and chief authors of disquietness in that part of

" the country; and such as I, for my part, cannot A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.
" (doing my duty with a good conscience) suffer
" without their further conformity to execute their
" ministry. But your lordships (God willing) shall
" have a more particular answer to every point of
" your letter when my lord of London, who is now
" at his house in the country, and I shall meet and
" have conferred thereupon. In the mean time I
" trust that neither there nor elsewhere within this
" province, either by myself or others of my brethren,
" any thing is or shall be done which doth not tend
" to the peace of the church, the working of obe-
" dience to laws established, the encouragement of
" the most, the godliest, and most learnedest minis-
" ters in this church of England, and to the glory
" of God; to whose protection I commit your good
" lordships.

["Dated from Croydon, September the 27th, "1584."]

Now although we find sir Christopher Hatton (for company's sake, as we humbly conceive it) amongst the privy counsellors, subscribing for moderation to nonconformists, yet we take him to be a zealous stickler for the pressing church ceremony; and although I look on the words of the Jesuit as a mere scandal, when he saith that this Hatton was *animo catholicus*, (a papist in his heart [a],) yet I know him to be no favourer of the presbyterian party, but a great countenancer of Whitgift's proceedings against them, as appears by the following address of the archbishop unto him:

[a] Peter Ribadeneira in his Appendix to Sanders, p. 41.

A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

"To sir Christopher Hatton [b].

"Right Honourable,

The archbishop's gratulatory letter to sir Christopher Hatton.

"I give you most hearty thanks for that most "friendly message which you sent unto me by your "man, Mr. Kemp. I shall think myself bound unto "you, therefore, as long as I live. It hath not a "little comforted me, having received not long since "unkind speeches where I least looked for them, "only for doing my duty in the most necessary bu- "siness which I have in hand [c]. I marvel how it

[b] [The principal part of this letter is in Strype's Whitgift, p. 224, who has given the date of it to July 16, 1585.]

[c] [He refers to lord Burleigh, a censure which that statesman richly deserves, who with his characteristic wiliness was anxious to press conformity for political purposes, though caring very little about it in a religious point of view. Thus while at one time his letters betray an anxiety for having nonconformists punished and brought before the bishops, at other times he requests that they may not be molested; desiring only to shuffle off from his own shoulders and from the government the risk and responsibility of their punishment. It will be sufficient to refer to various papers put forth at this time in proof of this statement. Thus in a proclamation dated Greenwich, Oct. 20, 1573, it is stated "that the queen's ma- "jesty, being right sorry to "understand that the order of "common prayer is now of late "of some men despised and "spoken against, both by open "preachings and writings, and "of some bold and vain cu- "rious men, and other rites "found out and frequented; "whereupon contentions, sects, "and disquietness doth arise "among her people, and for "one godly and uniform order "diversity of rites and ceremo- "nies, disputations and con- "tentions, schisms and divi- "sions, [are] already risen: "the cause of which disorders "her majesty doth plainly un- "derstand to be the negligence "of the bishops and other ma- "gistrates, who should cause "the good laws and acts of "parliament made in this be "half to be better executed, "and not so dissembled and "winked at." .... Upon which the queen commands them to put the act of uniformity &c. in execution "with all dili- "gence and severity, neither "favouring nor dissembling "with one person nor other." .... They are also to inquire

" should come to pass that the selfsame persons will A.D. 1584. 26 Eliz.
" seem to wish peace and uniformity in the church,
" and to mislike of the contentious and disobedient
" sort, cannot abide that any thing should be done
" against them, wishing rather the whole ministry of
" the land to be discountenanced and discouraged,
" than a few wayward persons (of no account in
" comparison) suppressed and punished. Men, in
" executing the laws according to their duties, were
" wont to be encouraged and backed by such, but
" now it falleth out clean contrary. Disobedient
" wilful persons (I will term them no worse) are
" animated, laws contemned, her majesty's will and

and have such punished as neglect coming to the common prayer &c. "with more care " and diligence than heretofore " hath been done: the which " negligence hath been cause " why such disorders have of " late now so much and in so " many places increased and " grown." And in a letter from the council, where the same things are urged in even stronger terms, and the bishops are straitly ordered "to take " a more vigilant eye to this " uniformity .... and to see " that in no one church.... " there be any difformity, &c." They then proceed to say that " nothing is required but that " [the] godly and seemly orders " allowed by the queen's ma- " jesty and the whole realm be " kept. The which, except ye " did wink at and dissemble, " there needed not these new " proclamations and straight " callings upon." Wilkins' Conc. IV. 278-9. Indeed the very same complaint which is here made by Whitgift was also made by his predecessor, archbishop Parker, (see Strype's Parker, 213, 226;) so that the remark of Strype is perfectly correct, in reference to that archbishop, " that he liked not " the work, especially being " accompanied with so much " severity, but it was out of " obedience to the queen, who " was continually calling upon " him, and ordering the secre- " tary to write to him to " quicken him. But finding " his own inability to do her " that service she required of " him, he very often and ear- " nestly sent to the secretary " that the queen's council might " stand by him with their au- " thority. But he could not " obtain his desire; thereupon " he made a stop in his pro- " ceedings." Strype, ib. 226.]

A.D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

" pleasure little regarded, and the executors thereof " in word and deed abused. Howbeit these over- " thwarts grieve me, yet I thank God they cannot " withdraw me from doing that duty in this cause " which I am persuaded God Himself, her majesty, " the laws, and the state of this church and com- " monwealth do require of me; in respect whereof I " am content to sustain all these displeasures, and " fully resolved not to depend upon man, but upon " God and her majesty; and therefore your honour, " in offering me that great courtesy, offered unto me " as great a pleasure as I can desire. Her majesty " must be my refuge, and I beseech you that I may " use you as a means when occasion shall serve, " whereof I assure myself, and therein rest.

" JOHN CANTUAR."

As for the lord Burleigh, such was his moderation that both parties beheld him as their friend, carrying matters not with passion and prejudice, but prudently, as became so great a statesman. He was neither so rigid as to have conformity pressed to the height, nor so remiss as to leave ministers to their own liberty; he would argue the case, both in discourse and by letters, with the archbishop. Amongst many of the latter kind, let not the reader grudge to peruse this here inserted [d]:

The treasurer's letter to the archbishop for some indulgence to the ministers.

" It may please your grace, I am sorry to trouble " you so often as I do, but I am more troubled " myself, not only with many private petitions of

[d] [This letter is not in lord Burleigh's hand, but in that of his secretary, now among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum, No. 102 (L). It is also printed in Strype's Whitgift, Append. p. 63. S. Copy in the State Paper Office.]

" sundry ministers recommended for [1] persons of A.D. 1584. 26 Eliz.
" credit, and [2] for peaceable persons in their minis-
" try, and yet by complaint to your grace and other
" your colleagues in commission greatly troubled;
" but also I am daily now [3] charged by counsellors
" and public persons to neglect my duty, in not
" staying of those your grace's proceedings, so vehe-
" ment and so general against ministers and preach-
" ers, as the papists are thereby greatly [4] encou-
" raged, and [5] all evil-disposed persons amongst the [6]
" subjects animated, and thereby the queen's ma-
" jesty's safety endangered. With these kind of
" arguments I am daily assailed; against which I
" answer, that I think your grace doth nothing but,
" being duly examined, tendeth to the maintenance
" of the religion established, and to avoid schisms
" in the church. I also have, for example, shewed
" by [7] your papers sent to me how fully the church
" is furnished with preachers, and how small a num-
" ber there are that do contend for their singularity.
" But these reasons do not satisfy all persons, neither
" do I seek to satisfy all persons [8], but with reason
" and truth. But now, my good lord, by chance I
" have come to the sight of an instrument of twenty-
" four Articles of great length and curiosity, formed
" in a Romish style, to examine all manner of minis-
" ters in this time without distinction of persons,
" which Articles are intituled *apud Lambeth, Maii*
" 1584, to be executed *ex officio mero*, &c. And
" upon this occasion I have seen them: I did recom-
" mend unto your grace's favour two ministers,

1 from L. S. 2 and *om.* L. S. 3 now daily L. S. 4 generally L.
5 and *om.* L. S. 6 persons amongst the *om.* L. S. 7 upon L. S.
8 them L. S.

A.D 1584. 26 Eliz.

" curates of Cambridgeshire, to be favourably heard,
" and your grace wrote to me that[9] they were con-
" tentious, seditious, and persons vagrant[10], main-
" taining[11] this controversy; wherewith I charged
" them sharply, and they both denied those[12] charges,
" and required to be tried, and so to receive punish-
" ment. I answered that[13] your grace would so
" charge them, and then I should see afterwards[14]
" what they should deserve, and advised them to
" resort to your grace, comforting them that they
" should find favourable proceedings, and so I hope[15]
" upon my former commendations the rather[16].
" What may be said to them I know not, nor whe-
" ther they have been[17] so faulty as your grace hath
" been informed do I know; neither do I mean to
" treat for to favour[18] such men, for pardon I may
" speak upon their amendment. But now, they
" coming to me, I offer[19] how your grace[20] pro-
" ceeded with them; they say they are commanded
" to be examined by the register at London, and
" I asked them whereof. They said of a great[21]
" number of Articles, but they could have no copies
" of them. I answered that[22] they might answer[23]
" to the[24] truth. They said that they[25] were so
" many in number, and so divers, as they were afraid
" to answer[26] them, for fear of captious interpreta-
" tion. Upon this I sent for[27] the register, who
" brought me the Articles, which I have read, and
" find so curiously penned, so full of branches and

9 that *om.* L. 10 vagrant persons S. 11 to maintain L. S. 12 these S. 13 I thought L. S. 14 afterwards see L. S 15 hoped the rather L. S. 16 the rather *om.* L. S. 17 be L. S. 18 entreat your lordship favour to L. entreat for favour for such S. 19 and I asking of them L. and I asking them S. 20 hath L. S. 21 great *om.* L. 22 then L. S. 23 according L. S. 24 the *om.* L. S. 25 there L. they S. 26 to L. unto S. 27 to S.

" circumstances, that [28] I think the inquisitions [29] of A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.
" Spain use not so many questions to comprehend
" and to entrap [30] their [31] preys. I know your ca-
" nonists can defend these with all their particles,
" but surely under your grace's correction this judi-
" cial and canonical siftner [32] of poor ministers is
" not to edify and [33] reform; and in charity I think
" they ought not to answer to all these nice points,
" except they were very notorious offenders in pa-
" pistry or heresy. Now, good my [34] lord, bear with
" my scribbling: I write with [35] testimony of a good
" conscience; I desire the peace of the church, I
" desire concord [36], and unity in the exercise of
" our [37] religion; I fear [38] no sensual and [39] wilful
" recusant; but I conclude that, according to my
" simple judgment, this kind of proceeding is too
" much favouring [40] the Romish inquisition, and is
" rather a device to seek for offenders than to reform
" any. This was [41] not that charitable instruction
" that I thought was intended of [42] these poor minis-
" ters should in some few points have any scrupu-
" lous conceptions [43] to be removed, this is not a
" charitable way, to send them to answer to your
" common register, upon so many Articles at one
" instant, without [44] commodity of instruction by your
" register, whose office is only to receive their an-
" swers, by which the parties are first [45] subject to
" condemnation before they be taught their errors:
" it may be, I say, that [46] canonists may maintain this
" proceeding by rules of their laws, but though

28 as L. S. 29 inquisitors L. S. 30 trap L. 31 and trap their S. 32 sifting L. S. 33 or L. S. 34 my good L. 35 a L. S. 36 I desire concord *om.* S. 37 our *om.* S. 38 favour L. S. 39 or S. 40 of L. S. 41 is L. S. 42 if L. S. 43 meet L. S. 44 any L. 45 made S. 46 be, as I said, the L. S.

A.D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

"*omnia licent,*[47] *omnia non expediunt.* I pray your "grace bear this, (and perchance a fault[48],) that I "have willed them not to answer these Articles, "except their consciences may suffer them; and yet "I have sharply admonished them, that if they be "disturbers in their churches they must be corrected; "and yet, upon your grace's answer to me[49], *ne sutor* "*ultra crepidam,* neither will I put *falcem in alte-* "*rius*[50] *messem.* My paper teacheth me to make "an[51] end. Your grace must pardon my hasty "writing, for that[52] I have done this *raptim* and "without correction.[53]

"Your Grace's, at command,

[1 July, 1584.] "WILLIAM BURGHLEY."

One may say, is not the hand of Mr. Travers in all this? who, being the lord Burghley's chaplain, by him much respected, and highly affected to the Geneva discipline, was made the mouth of the ministers, to mediate to his lord in their behalf. But it seems the archbishop had set up his resolution, (called constancy by some, cruelty by others, as they stand affected,) whose unmovableness herein will appear by his following letter:

"To the Lord Treasurer[e].

"My singular good Lord,

The return of the archbishop of Canterbury to the lord treasurer's letter.

"In the very beginning of this action, and so "from time to time, I have made your lordship

47 yet L. 48 one (perchance a) fault L. S. 49 I will leave them to your authority, as becometh me L. S. 50 *alienam* S. 51 make an *om.* L. S. 52 that *om.* L. 53 1 Julii, 1584.

[e] [Lansd. MS. No. 42, orig. See Strype's Whitgift, App. p. 64.]

" acquainted with all my doings, and so answered all A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.
" objections and reasons to the contrary, as I per-
" suade myself[1] no just reply can be made there-
" unto. I have likewise, by your lordship's advice,
" chosen this kind of proceeding with them, because
" I would not touch any for not subscribing only,
" but for breach of order in celebrating of[2] divine
" service, administering the sacraments, and execut-
" ing other ecclesiastical functions, according to their
" fancies, and not according to the form of[3] law
" prescribed, which neither your lordship nor any
" other[4] seemed to mislike, but to wish and require;
" and therefore I am much troubled at your last
" letters, which seem so to be written as though
" your lordship had not been in these points already
" answered[5]. The complaints which your lordship
" saith are made of me, and[6] other my colleagues,
" have hitherto been[7] general, and therefore cannot
" otherwise be answered but[8] by a bare denial; but
" if any man shall charge me or them with parti-
" cularities, I doubt not but we are and shall be
" ready to answer them, and to justify our doings.
" My proceedings are neither so vehement nor so
" general against ministers and preachers as some
" pretend, doing me therein great injury;[9] I have
" divers[10] times satisfied your lordship therein. If
" any offence be,[11] it is in bearing too much with
" them, and[12] using of them so friendly[13], which
" causeth them thus, contrary to their duty, to trou-
" ble the church, and to withstand me their ordi-

1 that L. 2 of *om.* L. 3 by L. 4 others L. 5 and satisfied L. 6 of L. 7 been hitherto L. 8 than L. 9 and L. 10 sundry L. 11 If I have any way offended L. 12 in L. 13 too familiarly L.

A.D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

" nary and lawful judge. The objection of encou-
" raging the papists &c. hath neither probability nor
" likelihood; for how can papists be animated by
" urging of men to subscribe against the pope's
" supremacy? and [14] to the justifying of the Book of
" Common Prayers, and [15] Articles of Religion, [16]
" which they so greatly condemn? But [17] papists
" &c. are animated because they see these kind of
" persons (which herein after a sort come in [18] with
" them) so greatly [19] so many borne with, and so
" animated and maintained [20] in their disordered
" doings, against both God's laws and man's [21], and
" against their chief governors, both [22] civil and
" ecclesiastical. This, I say, encourageth the papists,
" and maketh much for them [23]; the other is but a
" fallacy [24], *a non causa ad causam*. O my lord,
" I [25] would to God some of those [26] who use this
" argument had no papists in their families, and
" did not otherwise also countenance them; whereby
" indeed they receive encouragement, [and do be-
" come too malapert. [27]] Assure yourself [28] the
" papists are rather grieved at my proceedings [29],
" because they tend to the taking away of their
" chief argument; that is, that we cannot agree
" among ourselves, and that we are not of the
" church, because we lack unity [30]. And I am cre-
" dibly informed that the papists give encourage-
" ment to these men, and commend them in their
" doings, whereof I have also some experience. But

14 or L. 15 of the L. 16 both L. 17 indeed L. 18 join L. 19 friended L. 20 and maintained *om.* L. 21 law L. 22 both *om.* L. 23 them so malapert L. *cor.* 24 fallax L. 25 I *om.* L. 26 them L. 27 [ ] *crossed out in* L. 28 that L. 29 doings L. 30 lack unity, and therefore are not of the church L.

" if these reasons and sundry others, notwithstand- A.D. 1584.
" ing some will not be satisfied thereby [31], I am sure 26 Eliz.
" your lordship thinketh it not [32] convenient to yield
" unto [33] their wills, but unto their reasons [34]. Touch-
" ing the twenty-four Articles, which your lordship
" seemeth so [35] to mislike, as written in a Romish
" style, smelling of a [36] Romish inquisition, I cannot
" but greatly marvel at your lordship's vehement
" speeches against them, I hope without cause.
" [37] [The men are preachers, peaceable, your lordship
" saith, and that they are orderly, and observe the
" books, as some of them say of themselves; and
" you think it not meet that, being such persons,
" they should be deprived for not subscribing only,
" wherein I have yielded unto you, [38] and therefore
" have caused these Articles to be drawn according
" to law, by the best learned in the laws, who I
" dare say hate the Romish doctrine and the Romish
" inquisition, to the intent I may truly understand
" whether they are such manner of men or no as
" they pretend to be, which I also take to be] [39]
" the ordinary course in other courts [40]; as in the
" Star-chamber, [41] and other places. [Sure I am it
" is most usual in the Court of the Marches,
" (Arches rather,) whereof I have the best expe-
" rience.] And without offence be it spoken, I
" think these Articles [42] more tolerable, and better
" agreeing with the rule of justice and charity, and

31 will not satisfy some L. 32 will not think it L. 33 unto *om.* L. 34 without reason L. 35 much L. 36 the L. 37 *Verba inter* [ ] *posita om.* L. 38 I do minister these articles unto them, framed by the best learned in the laws, (who I dare say hate both the Romish doctrine and Romish inquisition,) to the intent that I may truly understand whether they are such manner of men or no as they pretend to be, especially seeing by public fame they are noted of the contrary, and one of them presented L. 39 that is L. 40 likewise L. 41 the court of the Marches L. 42 to be L.

A.D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

" less captious than those in other courts, because " there men are [43] often [44] examined at the relation " of a private man, concerning private crimes, *et de* " *propria turpitudine;* whereas here men are only " examined of their public actions in the [45] public " calling and ministry, [46] and much more [47] in the " case of heresy; because the one toucheth life, " and [48] the other not. And therefore I see no " cause why our judicial and canonical proceedings " in this point should be misliked. Your lordship " writeth, that the two for whom you write [49] are " peaceable persons, [50] that they [51] deny the things " wherewith they are charged, and desire to be tried. " Now they are to be tried, why do they refuse it? " *Qui male agit, odit lucem.* [Indeed they shew " themselves to be such as I have before shewed to " your lordship, the most troublesome persons in all " that country; and one of them, Mr. Brown, is " presented] for his disorders [52] by the sworn men " of the [53] parish [54], as I am informed by the official " there. Wherefore [55] I beseech your lordship not " to believe them against me, either [56] own words, " or [57] testimony of any [58] such as animate them " in their disobedience, and count disorder order, " and contention peace, before they be duly and " orderly tried according to that law which is yet in " force, and in my opinion will hardly in these judi- " cial actions be bettered, though some abuse may

43 men are there L. 44 times L. 45 their L. 46 whereunto in conscience they are bound to answer L. 47 then L. 48 and *om.* L. 49 speak L. 50 observe the book L. 51 persons, that they *om.* L. 52 for his disorders *om.* L. 53 his L. 54 for his disorders L. 55 I have written nothing to your lordship of them which their own behaviour doth not prove to be true. Therefore L. 56 upon their L. 57 upon the L. 58 any *om.* L.

" be in the execution thereof, as there[59], I else- A. D. 1584.
" where also[60], and that peradventure more abund- 26 Eliz.
" antly. Your lordship saith[61] these Articles are
" a device[62] rather to seek for offenders than to
" reform any: the like may be said of the like
" orders in other courts also; but that were[63] the
" fault of the judge, not of the law. And I trust
" your lordship hath no cause to think so evil of
" me: I have not dealt as yet with any but such
" as have[64] given evident[65] tokens of contempt of
" orders and laws, which[66] my acts remaining on[67]
" record will testify[68]; and though[69] the register
" do[70] examine them, (as I think[71] other officers
" do in other courts likewise, and the law doth
" allow of it,) yet are they repeated before a judge,
" where they may reform, add, or diminish, as they
" think good; neither hath there[72] any man thus
" been examined, or otherwise dealt with,[73] who
" hath not[74] been conferred with, or might not have
" been if he would,[75] these two especially[76]; and
" if they have[77] otherwise reported[78] to your lord-
" ship, they do but[79] *antiquum obtinere*[80], which is
" to utter untruths[81], a quality wherewith these kind
" of men are[82] marvellously possessed, as I on[83] my
" own knowledge and experience can justify against
" divers of them. I know your lordship desireth
" the peace of the church and unity in religion[84],
" but how is it possible to be procured, after so long

59 is in other courts likewise L. 60 I elsewhere also *om.* L. 61 that L. 62 devised L. 63 should be L. 64 refused to subscribe, and L. 65 manifest L. 66 which *om.* L. 67 in L. 68 with me L. 69 although L. 70 doth L. 71 I think *om.* L. 72 there *om.* L. 73 or otherwise dealt with *om.* L. 74 before L. 75 or might not have been if he would *om.* L. 76 even until they had nothing to say L. 77 have *om.* L. 78 report L. 79 they do but *om.* L. 80 *obtinent* L. 81 and they report untruly L. 82 this sort is L. 83 myself of L. 84 and unity in religion *om.* L.

A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

" liberty and [85] lack of discipline, if a few persons
" so meanly qualified as most of them are shall be
" countenanced against the whole state of the clergy,
" of greatest account both [86] for learning, years,
" stayedness [87], wisdom, religion, and honesty? and
" open breakers and impugners of the laws, young
" in years, proud in conceit, contentious in dispo-
" sition, maintained against their [88] governors, seek-
" ing to reduce them to order and [89] obedience?
" *Hæc sunt initia hæreticorum, et ortus atque cona-*
" *tus schismaticorum male cogitantium, ut sibi pla-*
" *ceant, ut præpositum superbo tumore contemnant;*
" *sic ab* [90] *ecclesia receditur, sic altare profanum col-*
" *locatur foris* [91], *sic contra pacem Christi et ordina-*
" *tionem atque unitatem Dei rebellatur* [g]. For my
" own part, I neither have done nor do [92] any thing
" in this matter which I do not think [93] in my [94]
" conscience and duty I am [95] bound to do, which
" her majesty hath [96] with earnest charge committed
" unto me, and [97] which I am not [98] well able to
" justify to be most requisite for this state and
" church, whereof next to her majesty, though most
" unworthy, or at [100] least most unhappy, the chief [101]
" is committed unto me, which I will [102] not, by the
" grace of God [103], neglect, whatsoever come upon
" me. Therefore I neither care for [104] the honour of
" the place, (which is *onus* to me [105],) nor the large-
" ness of the revenues [106], nor any other worldly

85 the L. 86 both *om.* L. 87 steadiness L. 88 superiors and L. 89 to L. 90 *de* L. 91 *foris collocatur* L. 92 neither do nor have done L. 93 myself L. 94 my *om.* L. 95 I am *om.* L. 96 not L. 97 the L. 98 in L. *correctum.* 100 the L. 101 care L. 102 may L. 103 by the grace of God *om.* L. 104 esteem L. 105 to me *gravissimum onus* L. 106 for the which I am not as yet one penny the richer L.

g [Cypri. li. Epist. 3. L. in m.]

" thing. I thank God, in [107] respect of doing my A.D. 1584. 26 Eliz.
" duty, neither do I fear the displeasure of man nor
" the evil [108] tongues of the uncharitable, who call
" me tyrant, pope [109], knave, and lay to my charge
" things which I never [110] thought [111]. *Scio hoc*
" *enim* [112] *esse opus diaboli, ut servos Dei mendacio*
" *laceret, et opinionibus falsis gloriosum nomen in-*
" *famet, ut qui conscientiæ suæ luce clarescunt, alienis*
" *rumoribus sordidentur* [h]. So was Cyprian himself
" used [113], and other ancient and [114] godly bishops,
" to whom I am not comparable. The day will
" come when all men's hearts shall be opened [115];
" in the mean time I will depend on [116] Him [117] who
" never forsakes [118] those that put their [119] trust in
" Him. If your lordship shall [120] keep those two
" from answering according to the order set down,
" it will be of itself a setting at liberty of all the
" rest, and of [121] undoing of all that which hitherto
" hath been done; neither shall I be able to do my
" duty according to her majesty's expectation [122];
" and therefore I beseech your lordship to leave
" them unto me. I will not proceed [123] against
" them till [124] I have made you [125] privy to their
" answers, and further conferred with you about
" them [126], because I see your lordship so earnest in
" their behalf; whereof they have also made public

107 the L. 108 regard the wicked L. 109 papist L. 110 did nor 111 upon L. 112 *enim om.* L. 113 for the same causes L. 114 ancient and *om.* L. 115 and made manifest L. 116 upon L. 117 who hath called me to this place L. 118 and will not forsake L. 119 put their *om.* L. 120 do L. 121 of *om.* L. 122 that which her majesty expecteth at my hands, and is now in very good towardness L. 123 to any sentence L. 124 until L. 125 your lordship L. 126 thereof L.

h [Cypri. Epist. li. 4. L. in m.]

A.D. 1584. 26 Eliz. "boasts, as I am informed, which argueth what "manner of persons [127] they are. I beseech [128] your "lordship to take not only the length, but also the "matter of this letter in good part, and to continue "to [129] me as you have [130] done, whereof I doubt "not [131]; for assuredly if you [132] forsake me, which "I know you will not after so long trial and expe- "rience, with continuance of so great friendship [133], "especially [134] in so good a cause [135], I shall think "my coming to this place to have been for my "punishment, and [136] my hap [137] very hard, that "when I think [138] to deserve best, [and in a manner "to consume myself, to satisfy that which God, her "majesty, the church, requireth of me,] should be "so evil [139] rewarded. *Sed spero meliora.* And I "know your lordship doth all, as you are persuaded, "for the best. I beseech God long to bless and "preserve you [140].

"JOHN CANTUAR." [141]

It seems the lord treasurer took exceptions at some passages herein; I dare not say with those that the letter was brought to him when he was indisposed with the fit of the gout, which made him so offended. But whatsoever was the cause of his passion, see some signs thereof in what followeth [i]:

127 of what disposition L. 128 heartily pray L. 129 unto L. 130 hitherto L. 131 whereof I doubt not *om.* L. 132 now L. 133 which I know you will not after so long trial and experience, with continuance of so great friendship *om.* L. 134 and that L. 135 as I know you will not L. 136 my coming to this place to have been for my punishment, and *om.* L. 137 to be L. 138 hope L. 139 I should be worst L. 140 and commit myself to the Author of peace, whom I beseech to bless and prosper your lordship. From Croydon, the 3rd of July, 1584. L. 141 To your lordship's most bound L.

[i] [See Strype's Whitgift, p. 160.]

A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

The lord treasurer's smart letter to the archbishop.

"I have received your grace's long letter, answering sundry speeches, as I think, delivered by your chaplain, Dr. Cosins; and I perceive you are sharply moved to blame me and clear yourself. I know I have many faults, but I hope I have not given such cause of offence as your letter expresseth. I deny nothing that your grace thinketh meet to proceed in with these whom you call factious; and therefore there is no controversy between you and me, expressed in your letter. The controversy is passed, in your grace's letter, in silence; and so I do satisfy. Your grace promised me to deal, I say, only with such as violated order, and to charge them therewith, which I allow well of; but your grace, not charging them with such faults, seeketh by examination to urge them to accuse themselves; and then I think you will punish them. I think your grace's proceeding is, I will not say rigorous or captious, but I think it is scant charitable. I have no leisure to write more, and therefore I will end; for writing will but increase offence, and I mean not to offend your grace. I am content that your grace and my lord of London (where I hear Brayne j is) use him as your wisdoms shall think meet. If I had known his fault, I might be blamed for writing for him; but when by examination only it is meant to sift him with twenty-four Articles, I have cause to pity the poor man.

"Your Grace's, as friendly as any,

"WILLIAM BURLEIGH."

j [See Edward Brayne's letter to secretary Burleigh, dated 6th July, 1584, in the Lansdowne MSS. 102, art. 112.]

A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

Short, but sharp. I see, though anger only *resteth in the bosom of fools* [k], it may light on the breast of a wise man. But no fear that these friends will finally fall out, who alternately were passionate and patient; so that now it came to the turn of Whitgift to be calm, as he expressed himself in the following return [1]:

" To the Lord Treasurer.

" My singular good Lord,

The archbishop's calm letter to the half-angry treasurer.

" God knoweth how desirous I have been, from " time to time, to satisfy your lordship in all things, " and to have my doings approved to [1] you; for " which cause, since my coming to this place, I have " done [2] nothing of importance without your advice. " I have risen early and sat up late, to write unto " you such objections and answers as were [3] used on " either side; I have not [4] the like to any man: and " shall I now say [5] I have lost my labour? or shall " my just dealing with two of the most disordered " ministers in a whole diocese (the obstinacy and " contempt of whom, especially of one of them, " you [6] yourself would not bear in any subjected " to your authority) cause you so to think and speak " of my doings, yea [7], and of myself? No man " living should have made me believe it. Solomon " saith [8], an old friend is better than a new; and I " trust your lordship will not so lightly cast off your " old friends for any of these newfangled and fac- " tious sectaries, whose fruits are [9] to make divi-

1 by L. 2 did L. 3 are L. 4 done L. 5 that L. 6 you *om.* L. 7 yea *om.* L. 8 my lord L. 9 endeavour is L.

[k] Eccles. vii. 9. [1] [See Strype's Whitgift, App. p. 67.]

A.D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

" sion wheresoever they come, and to [10] separate
" old and assured friends. Your lordship seemeth
" to charge me with breach of promise, touching my
" manner of proceeding, whereof I am no way guilty;
" but I have altered my first course of depriving [11]
" them for not subscribing only, justifiable by the [12]
" law, and [13] common practice both [14] in the time
" of king Edward and from the beginning of her
" majesty's reign [15], and chosen this, only to satisfy
" your lordship. Your lordship also objecteth [16], that
" it is said I took this course for the better main-
" tenance of my book [17]: my enemies say so indeed,
" but I trust [18] my friends have a better opinion of
" me. What [19] should I seek for any [20] confirmation
" of my book, after twelve [21] years, or what should
" I get thereby more than already [22]? And yet, if
" subscription may confirm it, it is confirmed long
" ago by the subscription [23] of all the clergy al-
" most [24] of in [25] England, before my time, even of
" Brain also, who now seemeth to be so wilful [26].
" Mine enemies and [27] tongues of this slanderous
" and [28] uncharitable sect report [29] that I am revolted
" and [30] become a papist, and I know not what;
" but it proceedeth from their lewdness, not from
" any desert of mine [31]; and I disdain to answer to
" any [32] such notorious untruths, which not the
" best of them dare avouch to my face. Your lord-
" ship further seemeth to burden me with wilful-

10 to *om.* L. 11 dealing with L. 12 the *om.* L. 13 in L. 14 both *om.* L. 15 to this day L. 16 you also object L. 17 against Cartwright L. 18 hope L. 19 Why L. 20 such L. 21 so many L. 22 I have L. 23 almost L. 24 almost *om.* L. 25 of L. 26 and of many of these who now refuse, even of Brain himself L. 27 the evil L. 28 slanderous and *om.* L. 29 also L. 30 and *om.* L. 31 that ungodly zeal which cometh not *ex amore sed ex livore*, wherewith they are possessed L. 32 any *om.* L.

A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

" ness: I am sure that [33] you are not so persuaded " of me; I will [34] appeal [35] to your own conscience. " There is [36] difference betwixt wilfulness and con- " stancy. I have taken upon me the defence of " the religion and rights [37] of the [38] church of " England [39] [40] to appease [41] the sects of [42] schisms " therein, and to reduce all [43] the ministers thereof " to uniformity and due obedience. Herein I in- " tend to be constant, and not to waver with every " wind; the [44] which also my place, my person, my " duty, the laws, her majesty, and the goodness of " the cause doth require [45] of me; and wherein your " lordship and others (all things considered) ought " in duty to assist and countenance [46] me. It is [47] " strange that a man in my place, dealing by so good " warranties as I do, should be so encountered [48], and " for not yielding to [49] be counted wilful. But I " must be contented [50], *vincit qui patitur;* and if " my friends forsake me herein [51], I trust God will " not, neither the law [52], nor her majesty who " hath [53] laid the charge on me, and are able to " protect me [54]. But of all other things it most " grieveth me, if [55] your lordship should say that [56] " two ministers should fare the worse because your " lordship hath [57] sent them. Hath [58] your lordship " ever had [59] any cause so to think of me? It is " needless for me to protest my [60] heart and affection " towards you above all other men: the world

33 think L. 34 will *om.* L. 35 therein L. 36 a L. 37 rites L. 38 this L. 39 of England *om.* L. 40 the execution of the laws concerning the same L. 41 the appeasing of L. 42 and L. 43 the reducing of L. 44 and not to waver with every wind; the *om.* L. 45 requireth L. 46 , as I take it, to assist and help L. 47 more than L. 48 hardly used L. 49 to *om.* L. 50 I must be contented *om.* L. 51 herein forsake me L. 52 neither the law *om.* L. 53 *cor.* " have" *in* L. 54 upon whom only I will depend L. 55 that L. 56 the L. 57 you L. 58 And L. 59 had *om.* L. 60 good L.

" knoweth it, and I am assured that your lordship A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.
" nothing [61] doubteth [62] thereof. I have rather cause
" to complain to your lordship of yourself, that
" upon so small an [63] occasion, and in the behalf
" of two such [64], you will so hardly conceive of me,
" yea [65], and as it were countenance persons so
" meanly qualified in so evil a cause against me,
" their ordinary, and your lordship's so [66] long tried
" friend. That [67] hath not been so in times past, [68]
" now it should be least of all, [I may not suffer
" the notorious contempt of one of them especially,
" unless I will become Æsop's block, and undo all
" that which hitherto have been done. Well] [69]
" because I would be loath [70] to omit any thing
" whereby your lordship [71] might be satisfied, I have
" sent unto you herein [72] inclosed certain reasons to
" justify the manner of my proceedings, which I
" marvel should be so [73] misliked in this cause, hav-
" ing been so long practised [74] in the same, and
" never before this time found fault with. Truly,
" my lord, [75] I must [76] proceed this way, or not at
" all: the reasons I have [77] set down in this paper;
" and [78] I heartily pray your lordship [79] not to be
" carried away either from the cause or from myself
" upon unjust surmises and [80] clamours, lest [81] you
" be the [82] occasion of that confusion which here-
" after you would [83] be sorry for. For mine own
" part, I [84] desire no [85] further defence in these

61 nothing *om.* L. 62 not L. 63 an *om.* L. 64 and in the behalf of two such *om.* L. 65 yea *om.* L. 66 so *om.* L. 67 It L. 68 and L. 69 but L. 70 to leave your lordship unsatisfied or L. 71 you L. 72 here L. 73 much L. 74 in the like, yea, and L. 75 my lord *om.* L. 76 either L. 77 are L. 78 now, my singular good lord, L. 79 you L. 80 or L. 81 thereby L. 82 some L. 83 will L. 84 am determined to do my duty and conscience without fear, neither will I therein L. 85 no *om.* L.

A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

"occasions, neither of your lordship nor any other[86], "than justice and law will yield unto me. In my "own[87] private affairs I know[88] I shall stand in "need of friends, especially of your lordship, of "whom I have made always an assured account[89]; "but in these public actions I see no cause why I "should seek for[90] friends, seeing they to whom "the care of the commonwealth is committed ought "of duty[91] therein to join with me. To conclude, "I am your lordship's[92] assured; neither will I ever "be persuaded but you do all even of hearty good- "will towards me[93].

"[From Croydon, the 15th of July, 1584.

"To your Lordship, most bound,][94]

"JOHN CANTUAR."

Sir Francis Walsingham a good friend to nonconformists.

Now, amongst all the favourers of the presbyterians, surely honesty and wisdom never met more in any than in sir Francis Walsingham, of whom it may be said, (abate for the disproportion,) as of St. Paul, *though poor, yet making many rich.* Having but one only daughter, (whose extraordinary handsomeness, with a moderate portion, would considerably prefer her in marriage[i],) he neglected wealth in himself, though I may say he enriched many, not only his dependents, but even the English nation,

86 of any of my friends L. 87 own *om.* L. 88 how greatly L. 89 myself sure L. 90 for *om.* L. 91 of duty *om.* L. 92 most L. 93 neither do I doubt of the continuance of your good affection towards me, which I heartily desire, as God himself knoweth, to whose tuition I commit you. L. 94 From L., omitted in Fuller's copy.

i [She was first married to the celebrated sir Philip Sidney, and afterwards to the unfortunate earl of Essex. Walsingham died so poor that he was privately buried, to prevent his creditors from seizing his body.]

by his prudent steering of state affairs. How he interceded to qualify the archbishop for a semi-nonconformist, we learn from his following letter[k]: A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

Sir Francis Walsingham's letter to the archbishop in favour of nonconformists.

"It may please your grace to understand that this "bearer, Mr. Leverwood, of whom I wrote unto "your grace, hath been here with me; and finding "him very conformable, and willing to observe such "orders as are appointed to be used in the church, "as your grace shall partly perceive by certain arti- "cles subscribed with his own hand, and herein "enclosed, I willed him to repair unto your grace; "and in case these articles may be allowed, then "I pray your grace to be his good lord, and that "with your good-will and favour he may proceed in "his suit[l]: upon knowledge whereof I do mean to "deal further therein with her majesty thereof for "him, as I have already begun to do, upon the good "report I heard of the man, before your grace's "message sent to Mr. Nicasius for the stay thereof. "And so I humbly take my leave.

"Your Grace's, at command,

"FRANCIS WALSINGHAM."

What this letter effected, the next will inform us.

[k] [Of the subject of this and the subsequent letter, see Strype's Whitgift, p. 226. He has printed the name Lever Wood throughout, and refers both letters to the year 1585.]

[l] [The favour which Walsingham shewed to the puritans gives a great value to his representation of the character and motives of those turbulent men. The severest censures ever passed upon them will be found in Walsingham's own letter to monsieur Critoy, in Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, II. p. 837.]

A. 1584. Eliz.

" Right Honourable,

archp's er to tary sing- s let-

" I thank you heartily for your letter, written " unto me in the behalf of Leverwood, wherein I per- " ceive the performance of your honourable speeches " to myself, in promising to join with me against " such as shall be breakers of the orders of the " church established, and movers of contentions " therein. Upon that, and other like speeches of " yours with me at your last being at Lambeth, I " have forborne to suspend or deprive any man " already placed in any cure or charge, for not sub- " scribing only, if hereafter he would promise unto " me in writing the observing of the Book of Com- " mon Prayer, and the Orders of the church by law " set down; and I do now require subscription to the " said Articles of such only as are to be admitted to " the ministry and to ecclesiastical livings, wherein " I find myself something eased of my former trou- " bles; and as yet none or very few of the last " named persons do refuse to subscribe to the said " Articles, though some of them have been account- " ed heretofore very precise. I also very well re- " member that it was her own wish and desire that " such as hereafter should be admitted to any living " should in like manner be tied to the observing " the Orders, which, as it hath already wrought " some quietness in the church, so I doubt not but " that it will in time perfect the same. And I can- " not break that order in one, but other will look " for the like favour, to the renewing and increasing " of the former schism, not yet already extinguished. " Wherefore I heartily pray you to join with me " herein.

" Touching the Articles enclosed in your letter, A. D. 1584.
" whereunto Leverwood hath subscribed, they are of 26 Eliz.
" no moment, but such as may easily be eluded; for
" whereas he first saith that he will willingly sub-
" scribe as far as the law requireth at his hand, his
" meaning is, that the law requireth no such sub-
" scription; for so I am informed that some lawyers
" (therein deceived) have persuaded him and others.
" And in saying that he will always in the ministry
" use the Book of Common Prayer, and none else,
" his meaning is, that he will use but so much of
" the book as pleaseth him, and not that he will use
" all things in the book required of him. I have
" dealt with him in some particularities, which he
" denieth to use, and therefore his subscription is to
" small purpose. I would, as near as I can, provide
" that none should hereafter come into the church
" to breed new troubles. I can be better occupied
" otherwise; and God would bless our labours more
" amply, and give better success to the word so
" commonly and diligently preached, if we could be
" at peace and quietness among ourselves, which I
" most heartily wish, and doubt not to bring to pass
" by God's grace; the rather through your good
" help and assistance, whereof I assure myself. And
" so, with my hearty prayers, &c.,

" JOHN CANTUAR."

A transition to other matter.

Thus have we presented to the reader some select letters, out of many in my hand, passing betwixt the highest persons in church matters. I count it a blessing that Providence hath preserved such a treasure unplundered, esteem it a favour in such friends

A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz. as imparted them unto me, and conceive it no ungrateful act in our communicating the same to the reader. And now we (who hitherto, according to good manners, have held our peace while such who were far our betters, by their pens, spake one to another) begin to resume our voice, and express ourselves as well as we may in the following history.

Good Grindal his death. 10. By the changing of Edmund into John Cantuar, it plainly appears, that as all these letters were written this year, so they were indited after the sixth of July, (and probably about December,) when bishop Grindal deceased. Our English Eli, for office, (highest in spiritual promotion,) age, (whereby both were blind,) and manner of his death, thus far forth as heartbroken with sorrow. Grindal's grief proceeded from the queen's displeasure, undeservedly procured by the practices of his malicious enemies. There want not those who will strain the parallel betwixt Eli and Grindal in a fourth respect, both being guilty of dangerous indulgence and lenity to offenders. Indeed Grindal, living and dying sole and single, could not be cockering to his own children; but as a father of the church he is accused for too much conniving at the factious disturbers thereof. Sure I am he was an impartial corrector of men's vicious conversations: witness his sharp reproving of Julio, the Italian physician, for marrying another man's wife; which bitter but wholesome pill the physician himself not being able to digest, incensed the earl of Leicester, and he the queen's majesty against the good archbishop. But all was put on the account of Grindal's nonconformity, for favouring the factious

meetings called prophesyings [m]. Grindal, sensible of the queen's displeasure, desired to resign his place, and confine himself to a yearly pension; not (as some may pretend) that it was against his conscience to keep it, but because above his impotent age to manage so great a charge. The place was proffered to Whitgift, but he, in the presence of the queen, utterly refused it; yet what he would not snatch soon after fell into his hands by Grindal's death. A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

11. Whoso beholds the large revenues conferred on Grindal, the long time he enjoyed them, (bishop of London, archbishop of York and Canterbury above eighteen years,) the little charge encumbering him, dying a single man, will admire at the mean estate he left behind him; yea, perchance they will erroneously impute this to his prodigality, which more truly is to be ascribed to his contempt of the world, unwilling to die guilty of much wealth; not to speak of fat servants made under a lean master. The little he had, as it was well gotten, was well bestowed, in pious uses on Cambridge and Oxford, with the building and endowing of a school at St. Bees in Cumberland [n], where he was born. Yea, he may be beheld as a benefactor to the English nation, for bringing tamarisk first over into England. As the *inventors of evil things* are justly taxed by the apostle [o], so the first importers of good A plea for Grindal's poverty.

[m] [This tale is told by sir J. Harington, in his Nugæ Antiquæ, II. p. 18.]

[n] [He was also a considerable benefactor to Queen's College, Oxford, and bestowed upon its library some of its most valuable books, many of which contain annotations in his own hand.]

[o] Rom. i. 13. [See the Worthies, II. 312.]

A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz. things deserve due commendation; that plant being so sovereign to mollify the hardness of the spleen, a malady whereof students (betrayed thereunto by their sedentary lives) too generally do complain.

SECT. VI.

TO THE

MASTER, WARDENS, AND ALL THE MEMBERS

OF THE HONOURABLE COMPANY OF MERCERS OF LONDON.

As it would be a sin of omission in me, (so much obliged to your society,) should no share in my History be allowed unto you, so I should commit a great incongruity if assigning it any where else than in the reign of queen Elizabeth, whose great grandfather, sir Godfrey Boleyn, (1458, *mayor of London,*) *is generally believed one of your company; so that the crowned maidenhead in your arms may in some sort seem prophetical, presaging such a queen-virgin should be extracted from one of your society, as the Christian world could not parallel in all particulars.*

Indeed much of credit is imported in your very name; for seeing all buyers and sellers are mercers a Mercando, *custom hath confined and fixed the term eminently on your corporation, as always the prime chapmen of our nation, in which respect you have the precedency of all other companies.*

I will detain you no longer from better customers, wishing you sound wares, quick vent, good prices, sure payment; one

commodity alone excepted, I mean the truth itself: this buy, and sell it not [a]; *purchase it on any terms, but part with it on no conditions.*

A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

Warning to sabbath-breakers.

ABOUT four o'clock in the afternoon, on the Lord's day, a sad accident happened in Paris Garden, on the south side of Thames, over against London. Whilst multitudes were beholding the baiting of the bear, the old under-propped scaffolds, overladen with people, suddenly fell down, killed eight outright [b], hurt and bruised many more, to the shortening of their lives. The assertors of the strict observation of the sabbath [c] vigorously improve this (as well they may) against them who profane the Lord's day, which afterwards (the joyful effect of a doleful cause) was generally kept with more carefulness.

Robert Brown first appears.

2. Robert Brown began at this time to broach his opinions. He was born in Rutlandshire, of an ancient and worshipful family, (one whereof founded a fair hospital in Stamford [d],) nearly allied to the lord treasurer Cecil. He was bred for a time in Cambridge, I conceive in Corpus Christi College [e], but question whether ever a graduate therein. He used some time to preach at Bennet Church, where the vehemency of his utterance passed for zeal among the common people, and made the vulgar to admire, the wise to suspect him. Dr. Still, afterwards master of Trinity, (out of curiosity, or casually present

[a] Prov. xxiii. 23.
[b] Holinshed, I. p. 1353.
[c] Dr. Bownd.
[d] Camden's Brit. in Lincolnshire.
[e] ["Some time of Bennet "College in Cambridge," says sir G. Paule, in his Life of Whitgift, §. 77.]

at his preaching,) discovered in him something extraordinary, which he presaged would prove the disturbance of the church, if not seasonably prevented. Some years after, Brown went over into Zealand, to purchase himself more reputation from foreign parts[f]; for a smack of travel gives an high taste to strange opinions, making them better relished to the lickerish lovers of novelty. Home he returns with a full cry against the church of England, as having so much of Rome she had nothing of Christ in her discipline. A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

Norfolk[g] was the first place whereon Brown (new flown home out of the Low Countries) perched himself, and therein in the city of Norwich; a place which then spake little more than *medietatem linguæ*, having almost as many Dutch strangers as English natives inhabiting therein. Brown, beginning with the Dutch, soon proceeded to infect his own countrymen; for which he was confined, as the following letter of the lord treasurer Burleigh to bishop Freake, of Norwich, will inform us[h]:

"After my very hearty commendations to your "lordship, whereas I understand that one Brown, a "preacher, is by your lordship and others of the "ecclesiastical commission committed to the custody "of the sheriff of Norfolk, where he remains a "prisoner, for some matters of offence uttered by "him by way of preaching; wherein I perceive, by "sight of some letters written by certain godly

[f] [See Strype's Parker, p. 326.]

[g] [See Strype's Annals, III. pp. 44, 186.]

[h] [Bishop Freake's letter respecting Brown and his errors, to which this of lord Burleigh's is a reply, will be found in Strype's Annals, III. p. 16. It is dated April 19, 1581.]

A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

" preachers in your lordship's diocese, he hath been " dealt with, and by them dissuaded from that course " he hath taken. Forasmuch as he is my kinsman, " (if he be son to him whom I take him to be,) and " that his error seemeth to proceed of zeal rather " than of malice, I do therefore wish he were cha- " ritably conferred with and reformed; which course " I pray your lordship may be taken with him, either " by your lordship or such as your lordship shall " assign for that purpose. And in case there shall " not follow thereof such success as may be to your " liking, that then you would be content to permit " him to repair hither to London, to be further " dealt with as I shall take order for upon his com- " ing; for which purpose I have written a letter to " the sheriff, if your lordship shall like thereof. And " so I bid your lordship right heartily farewell.

" From the court at Westminster, this 21st of " April, 1581.

" Your Lordship's very loving Friend,

" W. B."

After Brown, being thus brought up to London by the advice of his friends, was wrought to some tolerable compliance, and being discharged by the archbishop of Canterbury, was by the lord treasurer sent home to his father, Christopher Brown [i], at Tolethorp in Rutland, esq.; one, I assure you, of ancient and right worshipful extraction, having myself seen a charter granted by king Henry the

[i] [Anthony Brown, according to Strype, Life of Whitgift, p. 323; and so in Fuller originally, though he afterwards corrected it.]

Eighth, (the sixteenth of July, in the 18th of his reign,) and confirmed by act of parliament, to Francis Brown, father to the aforesaid Christopher, "giving him leave to put on his cap in the presence of "the king or his heirs, or any lord spiritual or "temporal in the land, and not to put it off but "for his own ease and pleasure." But let us see the lord treasurer's letter in the behalf of Brown to his father: A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

"After my very hearty commendations, under-"standing that your son, Robert Brown, had been "sent for up by my lord bishop of Canterbury, to "answer to such matters as he was to be charged "withal, contained in a book made by him, and "published in print, as it was thought, by his means, "I thought good, considering he was your son, and "of my blood, to send unto my lord of Canterbury "in his behalf, that he might find what reasonable "favour he could shew him, before whom I perceive "he hath answered in some good sort; and although "I think he will not deny the making of the book, "yet by no means will he confess to be acquainted "with the publishing or printing of it. He hath "besides yielded unto his lordship such further con-"tentment, as he is contented (the rather at my "motion) to discharge him; and therefore for that "he purposeth to repair to you, I have thought good "to accompany him with these my letters, and to "pray you for this cause, or any his former dealings, "not to withdraw from him your fatherly love and "affection; not doubting but with time he will be "fully recovered and withdrawn from the relics of "some fond opinions of his, which will be the better

A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

"done if he be dealt withal in some kind and tem-
"perate manner. And so I bid you very heartily
"farewell.

"From my house near the Savoy, this eighth of
"October, 1585.

"Your loving Friend and Cousin,
"WILLIAM BURGHLEY."

But it seems Brown's errors were so inlaid in him, no conference with divines could convince him to the contrary, whose incorrigibleness made his own father weary of his company. Men may wish, God only can work, children to be good. The old gentleman would own him for his son no longer [k]; then his son owned the church of England for his mother, desiring to rid his hands of him, as by the ensuing letter will appear:

"After my very hearty commendations, I perceive
"by your letters that you have little or no hopes
"of your son's conformity, as you had when you
"received him into your house; and therefore you
"seem desirous that you might have liberty to
"remove him further off from you, as either to
"Stamford or some other place, which I know no
"cause but you may very well and lawfully do,
"where I wish he might better be persuaded to
"conform himself, for his own good, and yours and
"his friends' comfort. And so I very heartily bid
"you farewell.

"From the court, this seventeenth of February,
"1585.

"Your very loving Friend and Cousin,
"WILLIAM BURGHLEY."

[k] [See Strype's Parker, p. 327.]

Thus, to make our story of the "troublesome "man" the more entire, we have trespassed on the two following years, yet without discomposing our chronology on the margin. A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

3. With his assistant, Richard Harrison, a petty pedagogue, they inveighed against bishops, ecclesiastical courts, ceremonies, ordination of ministers, and what not; fancying here on earth a platform of a perfect church, without any faults (understand it thus, save those that are made by themselves) therein [l]. The reader, if desirous to know their opinions, is referred to the large and learned treatises written against them, particularly to the pains of Dr. Fulke, proving that the Brownists (so named from this Brown, their ringleader) were in effect the same with the ancient Donatists, only newly revived. Thus there is a circulation, as in fashion of clothes, so of opinions, the same after some years return; Brownism being no more than Donatism vamped with some new additions. The queen and her council seriously set themselves, first by gentleness to reduce, and (that not succeeding) by severity to suppress, the increase of this faction. Brown himself used to boast that "he had been committed to "thirty-two prisons, and in some of them he could "not see his hand at noon-day." Yet for all this he came off at last both with saving his life and keeping his living (and that none of the meanest, Achurch in Northamptonshire) until the day of his death [m]. Brown his opinions.

[l] [He went over with Brown into Zealand. See Strype's Parker, p. 327. Brown himself was originally master of the free-school in St. Olave's, Southwark, and disseminated his tenets in a gravel-pit near Islington. See Paget's Heresiogr. p. 66.]

[m] ["He did use to say," observes Anthony Wood, "that "the true protestants had no

A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

Extraordinary favour indulged unto him.

4. One may justly wonder, when many meaner accessories in this schism were arraigned, condemned, executed, how this Brown, the principal, made so fair an escape, yea, enjoyed such preferment. I will never believe that he ever formally recanted his opinions, either by word or writing, as to the main of what he maintained. More probable it is, that the promise of his general compliance with the church of England (so far forth as not to make future disturbance therein) met with the archbishop's courteous acceptance thereof; both which, effectually improved by the countenance of Thomas Cecil, earl of Exeter, (Brown's near kinsman and patron,) procured this extraordinary favour to be indulged unto him [n]. His parsonage he freely possessed, allowing a sufficient salary for one to discharge the cure, and (though against them in his judgment) was contented, and perchance pleased, to take the tithes of his own parish.

The author's observation on him.

5. For my own part, (whose nativity Providence placed within a mile of this Brown his pastoral charge,) I have, when a youth, often beheld him. He was of an imperious nature, offended if what he affirmed but in common discourse were not instantly received as an oracle. He was then so far from the sabbatarian strictness to which some pre-

" church in England; yet af-
" terwards he found the way
" into their church, and became
" pastor of a place in North-
" amptonshire called Aychurch;
" *bonum nomen, bonum omen,*
" *et quantum mutatus ab illo.*
" And then he used to say that
" there was no church in Eng-
" land but his, and that was *A*
" *Church.*" Athen. I. 341.]

[n] [Rather, indeed, of the lord treasurer himself. See his letter to the bishop of Peterborough, dated June 20th, 1589, in behalf of Brown, who had now submitted himself to the order and government of the church of England. Strype's Whitgift, p. 323.]

ciser Brownists did afterwards pretend, that both in judgment and practice he seemed rather libertine therein. In a word, he had in my time a wife, with whom for many years he never lived, parted from her on some distaste; and a church wherein he never preached, though he received the profits thereof [o]. A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

6. As for his death in the prison in Northampton, many years after, (in the reign of king Charles, anno 1630,) it nothing related to those opinions he The occasion of his late death.

[o] [Of this man, Robert Baillie, a Scotch presbyterian, gives the following account in his "Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time," p. 13, Lond. 1645: "The horror of this remarkable vengeance (he means the death of Bolton, a separatist prior to Brown) did not deter Robert Brown, first a schoolmaster in Southwark, and then a preacher at Islington near London, to take up that banner of separation which God, as with a bolt from heaven, had wrung out of the hands of miserable Bolton; albeit that cause did thrive no better with him than with his predecessor. When this rash young man, (for old he could not be in the 1580 year of God, when he was the prime leader of that sect, having but lately died,) when he, I say, had gathered a separate congregation, and drawn up for the defence of this way these writings, whence ever since the best arguments for that schism are drawn, they went over to enjoy their liberty to Middelburgh, of Zealand. But behold the wrath of God following them at their heels! When there was no disturbance from without, they fell to such jarring among themselves, that soon they broke all to pieces: the most turned anabaptists; Brown himself returned to England, recanted his Brownism, received a parsonage at the hand of a bishop. The course of his life, to his deep old age, was so extremely scandalous, that more than ordinary charity is needful to persuade that ever he was led with a good spirit. I have heard it from reverend ministers that he was a common beater of his poor old wife, and would not stick to defend publicly this his wicked practice; also that he was an open profaner of the sabbath; and that his injustice in not paying the small pittance he was indebted to him whom laziness in his calling made him to keep for the supply of the cure of his parsonage did bring him to prison, in the which, for that very cause, he continued till death."]

A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz. did or his followers do maintain; for, as I am credibly informed, being by the constable of the parish (who chanced also to be his godson) somewhat roughly and rudely required the payment of a rate, he happened in passion to strike him. The constable, not taking it patiently as a castigation from a godfather, but in anger as an affront to his office, complained to sir Rowland St. John, a neighbouring justice of the peace, and Brown is brought before him. The knight, of himself, was prone rather to pity and pardon than punish his passion; but Brown's behaviour was so stubborn, that he appeared obstinately ambitious of a prison, as desirous, after long absence, to renew his familiarity with his ancient acquaintance. His *mittimus* is made, and a cart with a feather-bed provided to carry him, he himself being so infirm (above eighty) to go, too unwieldy to ride, and no friend so favourable as to purchase for him a more comely conveyance. To Northampton gaol he is sent, where, soon after, he sickened, died, and was buried in a neighbouring churchyard; and it is no hurt to wish that his bad opinions had been interred with him.

Two Brownists executed.

7. The tenets of Brownists daily increasing, their books were prohibited by the queen's authority; notwithstanding which prohibition some presumed to disperse the same, and paid dearly for their contempt therein; for Elias Thacker was hanged on the fourth and John Coping on the sixth of June, at the same place, St. Edmund's Bury, and for the same offence, the scattering such schismatical pamphlets [p].

[p] Stow's Chronicle, p. 697. [Holinshed, II. 1353.]

8. John Whitgift, succeeding in the archbishopric, found it much surcharged in the valuation and impaired in the revenues, through the negligence of his predecessor, who would pay willingly what they asked of him, and take contentedly what any tendered to him. First, therefore, Whitgift procured an order out of the exchequer for the abatement of an hundred pound for him and his successors in the payment of his first-fruits [q]; afterwards he encountered no meaner man than that great courtier, soldier, and privy counsellor, sir James Crofts; or rather he legally contested with the queen in him, and recovered from both Long Beechwood in Kent, containing above a thousand acres of land, detained from his predecessor under colour of a lease from her majesty [r]. A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz. Whitgift succeedeth him.

9. This year Nicholas Sanders (more truly Slanders) had in Ireland a woful end of his wretched life [s]. He was born in Surrey, bred first in Winchester, then in New College in Oxford, where he was king's professor of canon law; but afterwards, banishing himself, fled to Rome, there made priest and doctor of divinity. He accompanied cardinal Hosius to the council of Trent, and there is said, by disputing and declaiming, to have gained himself great reputation. At last he was sent over pope's nuncio into Ireland, conceived then a desperate employment, and therefore many catholics regretted thereat; yea, some were overheard to say, (but it is Pitzæus Sanders' own sister's son who reports it [t],) "Why does his holiness send our Sanders into Ire- Death of Sanders.

[q] Sir George Paul, Life of Whitgift, §. 52.
[r] Idem.
[s] Camden's Eliz. in hoc anno.
[t] De Scriptor. p. 773.

A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz. "land? we value him more than all Ireland is "worth." There, amongst the bogs and mountains, was he starved to death, justly famished for want of food, who formerly had surfeited on improbable lies, by him first forged on the nativity of queen Elizabeth [u].

Lewes burnt at Norwich.

10. We must not forget how, this year, one John Lewes was burnt at Norwich for denying the Godhead of Christ, and holding other detestable heresies [x]. He called himself "Abdoit [y]," (let him tell you what he meant thereby,) alluding therein to the promise of a new name, *which no man knoweth but him that receiveth it* [z]; having in it a little mock-Hebrew, to make himself the more remarkable.

Popish libels.

11. Now, so great was the malice of the Jesuits against her majesty, that at this time they set forth many slanderous libels, stirring up her subjects and servants to do the same to her as Judith did to Holofernes [a]. One of their principal pamphlets was entitled "A Treatise of Schism." The suspicion of making it fell on Gregory Martin, one probable enough for such a prank, (as being divinity professor in Rheims,) did not his epitaph there ensure me he

[u] [This is denied by the author of the life of Sanders, prefixed to his book "De Lu-"theranorum Dissidiis," &c. ed. 1594. He states that Sanders died from over-exertion, worn out by the constant employment of his spiritual functions. In the "Execution of "Justice" it is stated that Sanders died raving. Somers' Tracts, I. p. 203. An excellent account of Sanders will be found in Wood's Athen. I. 204. The account of him prefixed to the work above quoted is also a valuable document, hitherto, I believe, unnoticed.]

[x] [The original draught of the *significavit* for his burning is still preserved among the Sarum MSS. in the Bodleian.]

[y] Stow's Chron. p. 697.

[z] Rev. ii. 17.

[a] Camden's Eliz. in hoc anno.

was dead and buried two years before [b]; though it is possible his posthume work might be born abroad after the death of the author thereof. But whoever made it, William Carter, the stationer, paid dearly for publishing it, being executed at Tyburn [c]; and in the next month five seminaries (James Fenn, George Haddock, John Munden, John Nutter, and Thomas Cemerford) were hanged, bowelled, and quartered for treason, at Tyburn; and many others about the same time executed in other places. A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz.

12. Yet even in the midst of this necessary severity her majesty was most merciful unto many popish malefactors, whose lives stood forfeited to the laws, in the rigour thereof; for no fewer than seventy priests (some of them actually condemned to die, all legally deserving death) were, by one act of grace, pardoned, and sent over beyond sea. Amongst these were, The queen, her eminent mercy.

i. Gaspar Haywood, son to that eminent epigrammatist, the first Jesuit [d] that ever set foot in England [e].

ii. James Bosgrave.

iii. John Hart, a learned man, zealous to dispute, not dangerous to practice for his religion.

iv. Edward Rishton, (ungrateful wretch,) who afterwards railed in print on the queen, who gave him his life [f].

[b] [Oct. 28, 1582.] Pitz. in Vita, p. 782. [Tanner attributes the tract to Martin.]

[c] [See a full account of him and his trial in Bridgewater's Concertatio, f. 127, 295. A very detailed narrative of the proceedings against Fenn and the other seminaries mentioned below will also be found in the same author, f. 133—160.]

[d] Camden's Eliz. 1584.

[e] [See Bridgewater, ibid. f. 409.]

[f] [These men were all Jesuits, except the last. For an

A. D. 1584. 27 Eliz. Her majesty's mercy herein was the more remarkable, because done at a time when treasons against her person (by Ardern, Somerville, Throgmorton, &c.) did follow, or rather tread, one on another. If hereafter the edge of justice fall sharper on Jesuits, let them thank their own treachery, which whetted it against themselves.

Two fruitless conferences. 13. This year two conferences or disputations were kept, (the last at Lambeth,) about the discipline and ceremonies of the church.

i. Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, Sandys of York, and Cooper of Winchester, for the same.

ii. Unconforming ministers (whose names I cannot certainly attain) against it.

iii. The lords of her majesty's privy council, and some other persons of honour, auditors thereof [g].

This conference effected nothing on the disputants as to the altering of their opinions, little on the auditors, but as much on all as any judicious person ever expected. What Elijah said passionately, *I am no better than my fathers* [h], may be soberly said of this conference: it was no happier than any of its ancestors which went before it; let me add also,

account of these proceedings by their own party, see Mori Hist. Soc. Jesu, p. 133. This writer has devoted many pages to the history of these men, who were eminent among those of their own persuasions. Bosgrave was one of those who assisted at the conference between Campian and dean Nowell and others, in the Tower, in 1581. See Bombini, Vita Campiani, p. 243. Hart was the person whose disputation with Rainolds has been already mentioned; and Rishton was the continuator of Saunders' book, De Schismate Anglicano. Of Haywood, Hart, and Rishton, see Wood's Athen. I. p. 223, 277, 290.]

[g] [See Sir G. Paule's Life of Whitgift, §. 55.]

[h] 1 Kings xix. 4.

and no unhappier than its successors that shall come after it; it being observed that meetings of this nature, before or after this time, never produced any great matter on persons present thereat, who generally carry away the same judgment they brought with them. And yet the lords were pleased to say their judgments were satisfied in the point on the bishops' behalf, not conceiving their adversaries' arguments so slight and trivial as now they appeared. This was in some of them but a court compliment, who afterwards secretly acted against the archbishop in favour of the other party [i]. A. D. 1584. 27 Eliz.

14. Whitgift, finding this first way unsuccessful, fell from other reasoning to a flat argument from authority, enjoining all admitted to the ecclesiastical orders and benefices the subscription of the following Articles: Subscription severely pressed.

i. "That the queen had supreme authority over "all persons born within her dominions, of what "condition soever they were; and that no other "prince, prelate, or potentate hath or ought to have "any jurisdiction, civil or ecclesiastical, within her "realms or dominions."

ii. "That the Book of Common Prayer, and the "ordination of bishops, priests, and deacons, con- "taineth nothing contrary to the word of God, but

[i] [Their reason being, not that they cared about the merits of the question one way or another, but, like Judas, "when those honourable per- "sonages saw that they might "not sway (as formerly in the "restraint of archbishop Grin- "dal) and prefer whom they "listed unto ecclesiastical pro- "motions, they, with some "others, linked themselves "against the archbishop, and "gave him (being yet no coun- "cillor of state) many thwarts "at the council-board." Sir G. Paul, ibid.]

A. D. 1584. 27 Eliz. "may lawfully be used; and that they will use that, "and none other."

iii. "That the Articles of Religion agreed in the "synod holden at London in the year of our Lord "1562, and published by the queen's authority, they "did allow of, and believe them to be consonant to "the word of God."

The severe enforcing of subscription hereunto, what great disturbance it occasioned in the church, shall hereafter (by God's assistance) be made to appear, leaving others to judge whether the offence was given or taken thereby.

The Rhemish translation comes forth.

15. Now came forth the Rhemish translation of the New Testament [k], a translation which needeth to be translated, neither good Greek, Latin, or English, as every where bespeckled with hard words, (pretended not renderable in English without abatement of some expressiveness,) which transcend common capacities; besides, it is taxed by our divines as guilty of abominable errors therein. It was printed in large paper, with a fair letter and margent, all which I have charity enough to impute to their desire to do it for the more dignity of God's word; whilst others interpret it that thereby purposely they enhanced the price, to put it past the power of poor men's purses to purchase it. Another accident raised the dearness thereof: because, so many books being seized on by the queen's searchers, the whole price of the edition fell the more heavy on the remainder. But suppose a poor lay-catholic so rich through his

[k] [Of the Rhemish Testament, and the answers made to it by Fulke and Cartwright, see Strype's Whitgift, p. 253. Annals, III. p. 199.]

industry as secretly to purchase one of these Rhemish Testaments, he durst not avouch the reading thereof without the permission of his superiors licensing him thereunto. A. D. 1584. 27 Eliz.

16. Secretary Walsingham, by his letters, solicited Mr. Thomas Cartwright to undertake the refuting of this Rhemish translation, and, the better to enable him for the work, sent him an hundred pounds[l] out of his own purse[m]; a bountiful gift for one who was, though a great statesman, a man of small estate, contracting honourable poverty on himself by his expense on the public[n], as dying not so engaged to his private creditors as the whole church and state was indebted to his endeavours. Walsingham his Cartwright invited to answer it.

[l] See the preface to Cartwright's book.

[m] [A copy of this letter is in the State Paper Office, although with no name attached to it. The letter says, "I have "heretofore written to Mr. "Langston, to acquaint him "with her majesty's pleasure "for your removing from "thence, who taketh your "being there offensively, by "what occasions I know not, "neither may we inquire of "those matters." ..... The writer then informs him that he is desirous that he should "answer certain books of the "Jesuits; the Testament they "would have first begun withal; "the order to be this in your "travail, that as you have "done and finished any work "to send it over hither to be "seen and allowed by the best "learned of both the universities, and that you dedicate "them to the lord treasurer, "if not to her majesty, joining "to the lord treasurer whom "you best like; and that way "is thought best to make an "overture for your future favour. For your pains you "shall be allowed 100*l.* by the "year..... And if you will "have any company to you to "help you, you shall have "whom you will, and as many "as you will, and they likewise shall have good allowance made them. I pray you "return me your answer by "this bearer, that in both "points I may give answer "according to duty, both for "her majesty's satisfaction and "for this good work.... From "the court at Greenwich, this "5th July, 1582." See further respecting this matter in Strype's Whitgift, p. 253.]

[n] Camden's Elizabeth, anno 1590.

A. D. 1584. 27 Eliz. letters to Cartwright were seconded by another from the doctors and heads of houses (and Dr. Fulke amongst the rest) at Cambridge, besides the importunity of the ministers of London and Suffolk, soliciting him to the same purpose. Hereupon Cartwright buckled himself to the employment, and was very forward in the pursuance thereof.

Whitgift stoppeth his book.

17. No sooner had Whitgift gotten notice what Cartwright was a-writing, but presently he prohibited his farther proceeding therein. It seems Walsingham was secretary of state, not of religion, wherein the archbishop overpowered him. Many commended his care, not to entrust the defence of the doctrine of England to a pen so disaffected to the discipline thereof; others blamed his jealousy, to deprive the church of so learned pains of him whose judgment would so solidly and affections so zealously confute the public adversary. Distasteful passages, (shooting at Rome, but glancing at Canterbury,) if any such were found in his book, might be expunged, whilst it was pity so good fruit should be blasted in the bud for some bad leaves about it. Disheartened hereat, Cartwright desisted; but some years after, encouraged by an honourable lord, resumed the work; but, prevented by death, perfected no further than the fifteenth chapter of the Revelation. Many years lay this worthy work neglected, and the copy thereof mouse-eaten in part, whence the printer excused some defects therein in his edition, which, though late, yet at last came forth, anno 1618; a book which, notwithstanding the foresaid defects, is so complete that the Rhemists durst never return the least answer thereunto.

Dr. Fulke first effected it.

18. Meantime, whilst Cartwright his refutation of

the Rhemish was thus retarded, Dr. William Fulke, master of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, entered the list against them, judiciously and learnedly performing his undertaking therein. His daughter, and, as I take it, the only surviver of his children, lately set forth the fourth and fairest edition of this his Confutation, and dedicated it to king Charles [o]. A. D. 1584. 27 Eliz.

19. The Rhemists profess, in their preface to the New Testament, "that the Old Testament also lieth "by them for lack of good means to publish the "whole in such sort as a work of so great charge "and importance requireth;" which seemeth strange to a judicious consideration, for, had a voluminous legend of saints' lives (with pictures as costly as superstitious) been to be set forth, a mass, a mint, a mine of money could easily be advanced to defray the expenses thereof. Thus papists can be poor or rich, as they please themselves. Some behold this their promise to set forth the Old Testament as not really intended, but given out to raise men's expectations, which in process of time would fall of itself, and the proffer by degrees be forgotten; others interpret their resolutions real, but purposely revoked, seeing the ill success of their New Testament, so canvassed and confuted by the protestant divines. Perceiving that their small pinnace, which they first A promise never performed.

[o] [Dr. Fulke, master of Pembroke Hall in Cambridgeshire, completed Cartwright's Confutation of the Rhemists' Translation, which had been left unfinished, adding certain chapters in the Revelations, according to Strype, Whitgift, 254. He was also the author of a work called a Comment on the Rhemish Testament, first published in London 1580, whereof the fourth edition was published in 1633. He also answered Dr. Gregory Martin, a Romanist who had attacked the English version of the Scriptures. See Tanner's Bibl. p. 302, and Strype's Annals, III. 199.]

A.D. 1584. 27 Eliz. set forth, met at sea with such boisterous weather, wisely they would not adventure a greater vessel after it; but rather left it to rot on the dock, than they would launch it forth in such danger. A third sort beheld this their promise as a modest and mannerly (*alias* a crafty and cunning) begging of a contribution of the catholic party for setting forth of the same, which never as yet came into public view. Yea, the Old Testament, some said, would be old indeed before the translation thereof in English were by them set forth; insomuch that some conceived a lease of land, till this their promise be performed, almost as good as the fee-simple thereof.

Confidence of many at last deceived.

20. But now, though men were so generally confident that these long-expected Rhemish notes on the Old Testament would not come forth till the Greek Calends, they have since found themselves deceived, seeing some twenty years after that long-looked-for work crept forth into the world, little notice being taken thereof by the protestants; partly because no great eminency therein to entitle it to their perusal, partly because that moiety of the Bible is of least concernment in the controversies betwixt us and the church of Rome.

The death of George Etheredge.

21. I find not this year the death of any eminent English protestant divine [p]. Amongst the papists George Etheredge departed this life, much lamented by those of his own persuasion. He was bachelor of physic in Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and king's professor of Greek in that university, which place he quitted at the coming in of queen Eliza-

[p] [According to Wood, who has given some account of Etheredge in his Athen. I. p. 237, he was living in 1588.]

beth, and betook himself there to a private life. A. D. 1585. 28 Eliz.
His house was an hospital to relieve those of his own religion, on whom he expended his estate. He was one of the primitive catholics, saith my author [q], persecuted for his conscience. As he started soon, he ran along in the race of patience, used to all the gaols in Oxford and London for thirty years together; insomuch that he professed that the variety of prisons was some pleasure, and the custom of durance had made fetters to be freedom unto him.

22. This year came forth the exposition of Mr. Thomas Rogers on the Articles of the Church of England, which at first met not with that welcome entertainment which seemed due to his endeavours; for besides the two extremes (papists and schismatics) highly enraged, many protestants of a middle temper were much offended thereat. Some conceived it presumption for any private minister to make himself the mouth of the church, to render her sense in matters of so high concernment; others were offended that his interpretation confined the charitable latitude formerly allowed in those Articles, the composers whereof, providently foreseeing that doctrinal differences would inevitably arise in so large a church as England was, even betwixt protestants agreeing in fundamentals of religion, purposely couched the Articles in general terms, not that falsehood should take shelter under the covert thereof, but to include all such dissenters within the comprehensiveness of the expressions; whereas now Mr. Rogers his restrictive comment shut out such from their concurrence with the church of England,

[q] Pitz. in Vita, p. 785.

A. D. 1585. 28 Eliz.

which the discreet laxity of the text admitted thereunto. However, the worth of the work in some years wrought itself into good esteem, as dedicated to and countenanced by the archbishop, though the author thereof never got any higher preferment [r].

Three great corpora-

23. Three great societies at this time in London

[r] [Thomas Rogers, an excellent preacher, born, as Wood thinks, (Ath. vol. I. 400,) in Cheshire, and entered at Oxford about 1568, obtained a studentship of Christ Church, and took the degree of M. A. 1576. He was chaplain to archbishop Bancroft, and held the rectory of Horninger, near Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk, where he is supposed to have died, and to have been buried in the chancel of that church 22nd Feb. 1615-16. His book on the Articles of the Church of England bears this title: "The Faith, Doctrine, and "Religion professed and protected in the Realm of England and Dominions of the "same; expressed in Thirty-nine Articles concordably "agreed upon by the reverend "Bishops and Clergy of this "Kingdom, at two several "Meetings or Convocations of "theirs in the years of our "Lord 1562 and 1604. The "said Articles analyzed into "Propositions, and the Propositions proved to be agreeable "both to the written Word of "God and to the extant Confessions of all the neighbour "Churches Christianly reformed. The Adversaries "also of note and name which "from the Apostles' days and "Primitive Church hitherto "have crossed or contradicted "the said Articles in general, "or any particle or proposition "arising from any of them in "particular, hereby are discovered, laid open, and confuted. Perused and by the "lawful authority of the Church "of England allowed to be "public. Rom. xvi. 17, *I "beseech you*, &c. London: "Printed by John Legatt, and "are to be sold by Michael "Sparke, at the sign of the "Blue Bible in Green Arbor, "near the Little Old Bailey. "1607." The work passed through several editions, but this mentioned by Fuller I have never seen nor been able to find any account of it. The book is dedicated to archbishop Bancroft, the author subscribing himself, "At Horninger, "near St. Edmund's Bury, in "Suffolk, the 11th of March, "1607. Your grace's poor "chaplain, always to command, "Thomas Rogers." The editions of this book previous to 1607 must have contained much less than those of this year, since continual reference is made to points as low down as the year 1603. The preface contains much curious historical information.]

were busily employed, the two former of them avouched by law, and the third avouching itself, namely, A. D. 1585. 28 Eliz.

tions now on foot together.

The Parliament.	*The Convocation.*	*The Assembly of Ministers.*
Begun and holden at Westminster the twenty-third day of November last [s], and there continued till the twenty-ninth of March following, wherein the statute against Jesuits and priests their departing out and not coming into the realm, was made, with penalty for the relieving them.	Kept in St. Paul's in London, beginning with a most learned Latin sermon [t], preached by John Copcot [u], doctor of divinity, (afterwards master of Bennet College in Cambridge,) taking for his text 1 Tim. vi. 13, *Præcipio tibi coram Deo*, &c. Hence the convocation was removed to the collegiate church of St. Peter's in Westminster, where Dr. Goodman, dean thereof, made a solemn protestation with his fellow prebends that the said meeting ought not to be prejudicial to the privileges of his church. His protestation was accepted, and assurance given that the said convocation met not there in any manner to infringe their immunities, but only for the maturation of business with the more expedition through the conveniency of the place. William Redman, doctor of divinity, archdeacon of Canterbury, was chosen and presented prolocutor [x].	The certain place of their convening not known, being clandestine, arbitrary, and changeable, as advised by their conveniences. They are better discovered by their moving than by their meeting, and their practices more conspicuous than their places. Some agents for them were all day at the door of the parliament house, and some part of the night in the chambers of parliament men, effectually soliciting their business with them.

[s] [1584. See D'Ewes' Journal, p. 311.]

[t] "Venusta et eloquens concio," saith the Register of Canterbury, out of which I transcribed it.

[u] [Of Dr. Copcot, see Hist. of Univ. of Camb. p. 148. He was chaplain to archbishop Whitgift, and a strenuous opposer of the puritans. Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 274.]

[x] [For an account of the proceedings of this convocation, see Wilkins' Conc. IV. p. 306. It continued till February 11th, 1586. In the earlier sessions the errors of Hilton, mentioned at §. 27, were condemned.]

A.D. 1585. 28 Eliz.

The archbishop, afraid of alteration in church discipline, writes to the queen.

24. Wonder not if archbishop Whitgift repaired seldom to, and resided but a short time in, the convocation, having other work to do in the parliament, where what impression was made by the agents of the ministers will appear by his ensuing letter to her majesty [y]:

"To the Queen's most excellent Majesty.

"May it please your majesty to be advertised, "that notwithstanding the charge of late given by "your highness to the lower house of parliament for "dealing in causes of the church; albeit also ac- "cording to your majesty's good liking we have set "down orders for the admitting of meet men into "the ministry hereafter, yet have they passed a bill "in the house yesterday touching that matter, which, "besides other great inconveniences, (as namely, the "trial of the minister's sufficiency by twelve laymen, "and such-like,) hath this also, that if it pass by "parliament it cannot hereafter but in parliament "be altered, what necessity soever shall urge there- "unto; which I am persuaded in short time will "appear, considering the multitude of livings not fit "for men so qualified, by reason of the smallness "thereof. Whereas if it pass but as a canon from "us, by your majesty's authority, it may be observed "or altered at your pleasure.

"They have also passed a bill giving liberty to "marry at all times of the year, without restraint,

[y] Out of bishop Whitgift's manuscript of his own Letters, afterwards in sir Peter Manwood's, and since in my own possession. [Printed also in Strype's Whitgift, p. 198.]

" contrary to the old canons continually observed A. D. 1585.
" amongst us, and containing matter which tendeth 28 Eliz.
" to the slander of this church, as having hitherto
" maintained an error.

" There is likewise now in hand, in the same
" house, a bill concerning ecclesiastical courts and
" visitations by bishops, which may reach to the
" overthrow of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and study
" of the civil laws. The pretence of the bill is
" against excessive fees and exactions in ecclesias-
" tical courts; which fees are none other than have
" been of long time accustomed to be taken, the
" law already established providing a sharp and
" severe punishment for such as shall exceed the
" same; besides an order also, which we at this pre-
" sent have taken amongst ourselves, for the better
" performance thereof.

" I therefore most humbly beseech your majesty
" to continue your gracious goodness towards us,
" who with all humility submit ourselves to your
" highness, and cease not daily to pray for your
" happy estate, and long and prosperous reign over
" us.

[" From Lambeth, the 24th of March, 1584.]

" Your Majesty's chaplain, and
" daily orator most bounden,
" JOHN CANTUAR."

Thus the old year (on the last day whereof this letter was dated) ended sadly and suspiciously with the prelates; but the next year began cheerfully, and presented good tidings unto them.

25. For the queen, to verify her motto, *semper eadem*, and to disprove that inconstancy generally Her majesty will alter no-

A.D 1585. 28 Eliz. charged on her sex, acquitted herself more than woman in her masculine resolutions, and nothing of moment was altered in church discipline; many things, indeed, were offered to both houses, debated, agitated, and, as it seems, passed the commons, but nothing in fine was effected. Thus the major may propound what it pleaseth, and the minor assume what it listeth; but no conclusive argument could then be framed without the *ergo* of the royal assent, which the queen refused to affix to any material alteration [z].

Nothing material to church government.

Parliament dissolved.

26. And a few days after, the session of the parliament for the present broke off, wherewith ended the assembly of the ministers; and now all of them had leave to depart to their own homes, otherwise such members thereof as formerly went away without leave were obnoxious to censure: witness one of them in his ingenious confession, "Touching my "departure from that holy assembly without leave, "&c., I crave pardon both of you and them, &c.; "and thus commending this holy cause to the Lord "himself, and your godly council to the president "thereof, I take my leave [a]."

John Hilton in convocation abjureth his heretical opinions.

27. The next day the convocation ended, having effected nothing of moment, save that in the ninth session thereof John Hilton, priest, made a solemn abjuration of his blasphemous heresies, according to the tenor ensuing [b]:

[z] [See the speech she made to the parliament at the close of the session. Strype's Whitgift, p. 199.]

[a] Mr. Gelibrand to Mr. Field, 29th Nov. 1584, cited by bishop Bancroft in his English Scotizing, &c. p. 75.

[b] [See the proceedings of this convocation in Strype's Whitgift, p. 210, and Wilkins' Conc. IV. p. 306. The accounts of these writers differ slightly from that of Fuller.]

"*In Dei nomine*, Amen. Before you, most reve- A. D. 1585. 28 Eliz.
"rend father in God, lord John archbishop of Can-
"terbury, primate and metropolitan of all England,
"and the reverend fathers in God, the bishops of
"this your province of Canterbury, here congregated
"and assembled together in this holy synod and
"convocation; I, John Hilton, priest, of my pure
"heart and free will, voluntarily and sincerely know-
"ledge, confess, and openly recognise that in times
"past I thought, believed, said, held, and presump-
"tuously affirmed and preached the errors, heresies,
"blasphemies, and damnable opinions following,
"&c." [c]

Here he distinctly read a schedule containing his heresies, (which what they were may be collected by that which ensueth,) and then proceeded as followeth:

"Wherefore I, the said John Hilton, detesting
"and abhorring all and every such my said heresies,
"blasphemies, and damned opinions, willing and
"with all my power affecting hereafter firmly to
"believe in the true and perfect faith of Christ and
"his holy church, purposing to follow the doctrine
"of Christ and his holy apostles, with a pure and
"free heart, voluntary mind, will, and intent, utterly
"forsake, relinquish, renounce, and despise the said
"detestable errors, heresies, blasphemies, and abo-
"minable opinions.

"Granting and confessing that the blessed Trinity
"consisteth in three distinct persons and one God-

[c] This was by me faithfully transcribed out of the Records of Canterbury.

A.D. 1585. 28 Eliz. "head: as God the Father, God the Son, and God "the Holy Ghost, coequal in power and might.

"Secondly, that Jesus Christ is both God and "man, and my Saviour and Redeemer, and of all "others baptized and believing in Him; who of His "Father of His own substance in His humanity was "conceived by the Holy Ghost, incarnate, and for "our redemption, being very God, became man.

"And that by the death of Jesus Christ we be "not only made partakers of His testament, and so "deduced to the knowledge of His godly will and "power, but also that we have full redemption and "remission of our sins in His blood.

"And where I did most ungodly, detestably, and "blasphemously affirm that the Old and New Tes- "taments were fables, now, being most sorry for "that abominable and damnable assertion, I do most "humbly and ——— [d] believe the same Testaments "to contain all truths necessary to salvation, and "that I and all others are bound to believe the "same as the undoubted word of God, and that "without that I cannot be saved.

"And therefore the said errors, blasphemies, and "all other heresies, false doctrines, and damned "opinions in general, contrary and repugnant to "the faith of Christ, I utterly abjure, forsake, and "purely renounce, before you, most reverend father "in God, and the rest of this holy synod here "assembled. And moreover I swear by this holy "evangelist, by me here bodily touched, that from "henceforth I shall never hold, teach, believe, or

[d] Here the record is so ill written, that this word is not legible.

" affirm the said errors, heresies, blasphemies, or A. D. 1585.
" damned opinions, or any other against, contrary, 28 Eliz.
" or repugnant to the holy faith of Christ's church;
" nor yet shall I, by myself or any other person,
" privately or apertly defend, maintain, succour, fa-
" vour, or support any person that to my knowledge
" holdeth, believeth, affirmeth, or teacheth any such
" heresies, errors, or damned opinions. So help me
" God, and these holy evangelists. In witness
" whereof to this my present abjuration and renun-
" ciation, I have with my own hand voluntarily
" subscribed my proper name.

" JOHN HILTON."

28. Upon this his abjuration, penance was imposed on him, first, that he should attend at Paul's Cross upon the preacher, Sunday next, all the time of the sermon, and there penitently stand before the said preacher with a fagot on his shoulders; secondly, that he should not preach, minister sacraments, nor exercise any ecclesiastical function in the church, except specially licensed by the archbishop thereunto; thirdly, that he should recant the said heresies and damnable opinions in the church of St. Martin's in the Fields, at a sermon there to be made by the archdeacon, and there to shew himself very penitent. I find in the records a recognisance of five hundred pounds drawn up to the queen, whereby the said Hilton bound himself for the performance hereof; but because the rude draught of the bond is crossed, I conceive it not insisted on, and (finding nothing to the contrary) presume the aforesaid penance by him exactly performed. Penance imposed upon him.

29. The ministers or brethren, now missing their Exchange of import-

A. D. 1585. 28 Eliz. mark, abated much of their former activity, insomuch as that Mr. Cartwright (whom I conjecture the president mentioned in the last assembly) began to make, by the mediation of the earl of Leicester, (who now designed him master of his new-built hospital in Warwick,) compliance with Whitgift; though the wary archbishop, not over-fond of his friendship, kept him at distance, as these two letters here inserted will sufficiently inform us [e]:

ant letters betwixt the earl of Leicester and the archbishop.

" My good Lord [f],

" I most heartily thank you for your favourable " and courteous usage of Mr. Cartwright, who hath " so exceeding kindly taken it also, as I assure your " grace he cannot speak enough of it. I trust it " shall do him a great deal of good. And he pro- " testeth and professeth to me to take no other " course but to the drawing of all men to the unity " of the church; and that your grace hath so dealt " with him, as no man shall so command him and " dispose of him as you shall; and doth mean to " let his opinion publickly be known, even in the " pulpit, if your grace so permit him, what he him- " self will and would all others should do for obe-

[e] [Upon Cartwright's return from the Low Countries, where he had officiated during five years to some English factories, officers were sent to apprehend him as a mover of sedition and a turbulent person. During his confinement the archbishop behaved with much kindness to him. Upon a promise to conform, it is probable that he was dismissed by the influence of the archbishop, though a license to preach was still refused him. Upon this occasion these letters are written, which are in part printed in Strype's Whitgift, p. 225. Cartwright, however, was a conformist only in appearance. See Strype's Annals, III. 470.]

[f] Taken out of the manuscript of bishop Whitgift's Letters, belonging to sir Peter Manwood, and since in my possession.

" dience to the laws established. And if any little A. D. 1585. 28 Eliz.
" scruple be, it is not great, and easy to be reformed
" by your grace, whom I do most heartily entreat
" to continue your favour and countenance towards
" him, with such access sometimes as your leisure
" may permit; for I perceive he doth much desire
" and crave it.

" I am to thank your grace also very heartily for
" Mr. Fenne, albeit I understand he is something
" more opiniate than I wish him; but I trust he
" will also yield to all reasons. And I mean to deal
" with the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield [g], to
" make some trial of him; for surely he is an honest
" man. Thus, my good lord, praying to God to
" bless his church, and to make his servants constant
" and faithful, I bid your grace farewell.

" At the court, this 14th July.

" Your Grace's very assured Friend,

" R. LEICESTER."

" My singular good Lord,

" Master Cartwright shall be welcome to me at
" all times; and using himself quietly as becometh
" him, and as I hope he will, he shall find me willing
" to do him any good. But to grant unto him as
" yet my license to preach, without longer trial, I
" cannot, especially seeing he protesteth himself to
" be of the same mind he was at the writing of his
" book, for the matter thereof, though not for the
" manner. Myself also, I thank God, not altered in
" any point by me set down to the contrary, and
" knowing many things to be very dangerous;

[g] [William Overton.]

A.D. 1585. 28 Eliz. "wherefore notwithstanding I am content, and ready "to be at peace with him, so long as he liveth "peaceably; yet doth my conscience and duty for- "bid me to give unto him any further public appro- "bation, until I be better persuaded of his con- "formity. And so, being bold to use my accustomed "plainness with your lordship, I commit you to the "tuition of Almighty God, this 17th of July, 1585.

"JOHN CANTUAR."

Seminaries enlarged and transported.

30. Seminaries and priests to the number of thirty-two, late prisoners in the Tower, Marshalsea, King's Bench, and other places, were pardoned, enlarged, and transported over into Normandy, though occasionally they were forced to land at Boulogne [h].

31. The earl of Leicester, who hitherto had done but little good in England, went now over to do less in the Low Countries, commanding a great army and name, with the illustrious title of general of the auxiliaries of the queen of England. He was not so much pleased with his place there, but that some of his back-friends were as much delighted with his room here. Meantime the ministers lost the best stake in their hedge, in his absence, their patron paramount; for though by letters he might solicit their cause, yet the greatest strength is not so extensive but to have the virtue thereof abated at such a distance. And afterwards it fared worse with the ministers, when Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, was sworn of the privy council, (an honour which his predecessor Grindal never obtained, yea,

[h] [See Sanders, De Schismate Angl. p. 359.]

never desired,) by the procurement, it is believed, of the lord Burghley [i]. A. D. 1585. 28 Eliz.

32. Now, for the present, I will trouble the reader no longer with these brawls about discipline; only one story must not be omitted, though it be fathered rather on public report than fixed on any particular author in those days avowing the same. Some complained against the Liturgy to the lord Burghley, of whom he demanded "whether they desired the "taking away thereof?" They answered, "No; but "only the amendment of what was offensive there-"in." He required them to make a better, such as they would have settled in the stead thereof. Whereupon, The Liturgy supported by its opposers.

The first classis framed a new one, somewhat according to the form of Geneva.

The second classis, disliking it, altered it in six hundred particulars [k].

The third quarrelled at these alterations, and resolved on a new model.

The fourth classis dissented from the former.

Thus, because they could not agree amongst themselves, that wise statesman put them off for the present, until they should present him a pattern with a perfect consent.

33. Three protestant bishops this year exchanged this life for another: the first was Richard Curteys [l], Accusations not to be believed in full latitude.

[i] [See sir G. Paule's Life of Whitgift, §. 57. Strype's Whitgift, p. 247.]

[k] See the View of the New Directory, [by Dr. H. Hammond,] printed at Oxford, 1645, p. 3.

[l] [He died in the month of August, 1582, according to the notes in the new edition of Godwin, De Præsul. Angl. p. 513; yet Strype fixes his death (though with some hesitation) to 27th Feb. 1584=1585. Life of Whitgift, p. 242. Annals,

A.D. 1585. 28 Eliz. (sometimes fellow of St. John's in Cambridge,) bishop of Chichester; the second, Nicholas Robinson [m], bishop of Bangor; and John Scory, bishop of Hereford. Of the two former we have not enough to furnish out their character; of the latter too much, if all be true which I find charged upon him. Sure I am he began very well, being an exile and confessor in the days of queen Mary, but is accused afterwards to be so guilty of oppressions, extortions, and simonies, that a bill was put up against him in the Star-chamber, containing matter enough not only to disgrace, but degrade him, if prosecuted. But he bought out his innocence with his money. Here know that our author [n], though a person of wit and worship, deriveth his intelligence from a French writer disaffected in religion, and therefore not to be believed in full latitude when calling him Scoria, or dross, in allusion to his name; but as "all is not gold that glisters," all is not dross reputed so by our popish adversaries.

The death of John Feckenham.

34. The same year also John Feckenham, late abbot of Westminster, ended his life; whereon we

III. 331. Probably both Fuller and Strype had no other reason for fixing the date of his death so low than from seeing that Bickley, his successor, was consecrated in 1585.

Curteys was the author of several minor pieces, which are mentioned in Wood's account of him. See Athen. I. 697.]

[m] [He was domestic chaplain to Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, who has left on record an honourable testimony in his favour. See Antiq. Brit. p. 547. Anthony Wood places his death a year earlier. Athen. I. 696.]

[n] Sir John Harington, Nugæ, II. p. 176. [Hence the Romanists said of him that he professed to be a great enemy to idolatry, yet in another sense, according to St. Paul, he became a worshipper of images, not saints, but *angels*, alluding to the coin of that name. Wood's Athen. I. 682. Harington, ib. He was, apparently, a severe antagonist to the papists. See Strype's Ann. III. 328.]

must enlarge ourselves, if not for his, for history's sake, seeing he was a landmark therein; his personal experience being a chronicle, who, like the axletree, stood firm and fixed in his own judgment, whilst the times, like the wheels, turned backwards and forwards round about him. He was born in Worcestershire, in the forest of Feckenham, whence he fetched his name [o]; bred a Benedictine monk in the abbey of Evesham, where he subscribed, with the rest of his order, to the resignation of that house into the hands of king Henry the Eighth. Afterwards he studied in Oxford; then applied himself first to Bell, bishop of Worcester, and, after his death, to Bonner of London; where he crossed the proverb, "Like master, like man," the patron being cruel, the chaplain kind, to such who in judgment dissented from him. He never dissembled his religion, being a zealous papist; and under king Edward the Sixth suffered much for his conscience. A. D. 1585. 28 Eliz.

35. In the reign of queen Mary he was wholly employed in doing good offices for the afflicted protestants, from the highest to the lowest. The earl of Bedford [p], and (who afterwards were) of Warwick [q] and Leicester [r], tasted of his kindness; so did sir John Cheke; yea, and the lady Elizabeth herself, so interposing his interest with queen Mary for her enlargement that he incurred her grace's displeasure. Hence it is that papists complain that in the reign His courtesy to protestants.

[o] [His right name, however, was Howman. See Wood's Athen. I. 221. Many notices respecting him will be found in Reyner's Historia Benedict. in Anglia, p. 233.]

[p] [Francis Russell, second earl.]

[q] [Ambrose Dudley, created earl of Warwick in 1567.]

[r] [Sir Robert Dudley, created earl of Leicester in 1563.]

A. D. 1585. 28 Eliz. of queen Elizabeth he reaped not a crop of courtesy proportionable to his large seed thereof in the days of queen Mary.

Made abbot of Westminster.

36. Queen Mary afterwards preferred him, from being dean of Paul's, to be abbot of Westminster, which church she erected and endowed for Benedictine monks, of which order fourteen only could be found in England then extant since their dissolution, which were unmarried, unpreferred to cures, and unaltered in their opinions[s]. These also were brought in, with some difficulty at first, and opposition; for the prebendaries of Westminster, legally settled in their places, would not resign them till cardinal Pole, partly by compulsion, partly by compensation, obtained their removal.

Queen Elizabeth sendeth for him and proffers him preferment.

37. Queen Elizabeth, coming to the crown, sent for abbot Feckenham to come to her, whom the messenger found setting of elms in the orchard of Westminster Abbey; but he would not follow the messenger till first he had finished his plantation, which his friends impute to his soul employed in mystical meditations[t], that as the trees he there set should spring and sprout many years after his decease, so his new plantation of Benedictine monks in Westminster should take root and flourish, in defiance of all opposition; which is but a bold conjecture of others at his thoughts. Sure I am those monks long since are extirpated, but how his trees thrive at this day is to me unknown. Coming afterwards to the queen, what discourse passed betwixt them they themselves knew alone: some have confidently guessed she proffered him the archbishopric

[s] Sanders de Schismate Ang. p. 259, ed. 1588.

[t] Reynerus de Antiq. Bened. p. 235.

of Canterbury on condition he would conform to her laws, which he utterly refused. A. D. 1585. 28 Eliz.

38. In the treaty between the protestants and papists, *primo Elizabethæ*, he was present, but in what capacity I cannot satisfy myself; surely more than a disputant, (amongst whom he was not named,) yet not so much as a moderator; and yet his judgment (perchance because abbot, and so principal man in that place) was asked with respect and heard with reverence [u], his moderation being much commended. Now although he was often confined, (sometimes to the Tower, sometimes to friends' houses [x], and died, it seems, at last, in restraint in Wisbich Castle,) yet generally he found fair usage from the protestants. He built a conduit in Holborn and a cross in Wisbich, and relieved the poor wheresoever he came; so that flies flock not thicker about spilt honey than beggars constantly crowded about him [y]. Kindly used in restraint.

39. Abbot Feckenham thus being dead, the English Benedictines beyond the seas began to bestir themselves, as they were concerned, about the con- A recruit of English Benedictines made after Feckenham's death.

[u] Fox, Acts and Mon. III. [979, sq.]

[x] [At first he was committed to the custody of Dr. Goodman, dean of Winchester; but afterwards, through the means of bishop Grindal, transferred to Horn, bishop of Winton, and the rather because Grindal had heard Horn say "that if he should have any, "he could best deal with "Feckenham, having in king "Edward's days taken some "pains with him in the Tower, "and brought him to subscribe "to all things saving the pre-"sence and one or two Arti-"cles more." However, Horn soon became weary of the abbot, and some controversy arose between them. See Strype's Grindal, 79.]

[y] [A very interesting and detailed account of Feckenham will be found in Reyner's Hist. Benedictinor. p. 232, sq., and in Wood's Athen. I. 221, who is indebted to Reyner for most of his information respecting Feckenham.]

A.D. 1585. 28 Eliz. tinuation of their order. We know some maintain, that if any one species or kind of creatures be utterly extinct, the whole universe, by sympathy therewith, and consciousness of its own imperfection, will be dissolved. And the catholics suspected what a sad consequence there would be if this ancient order of English black monks should suffer a total and final defection. The best was, *unus homo nobis*, there was one, and but one, monk left, namely, father Sigebert Buckley; and therefore, before his death, provision was made for others to succeed him; and they, for fear of failing, disposed in several countries in manner following:

In Rome.

i. Father Gregory Sayer. ii. Father Thomas Preston. iii. Father Anselm, of Manchester. iv. Father Anthony Martin, commonly called Athanasius.

In Valladolid in Spain.

i. Father Austin St. John. ii. Father John Mervin. iii. Father Mark Lambert. iv. Father Maurice Scot. v. Father George Jervis [z].

From these nine new Benedictines the whole order, which hung formerly on a single string, was then replenished to a competent, and since to a plentiful number.

English papists why they fell off from the queen of Scots.

40. Hitherto our English papists affectionately leaned (not to say fondly doted) on the queen of Scots, promising themselves great matters from her towards the advancing of their religion; but now

[z] Reynerus de Antiq. Benedict. p. 242.

they began to fall off in their affections, partly because beholding her a confined person, (unable to free herself, and more unlikely to help others,) partly because all catholics come off with loss of life which practised her enlargement. As for her son, the king of Scots, from whom they expected a settlement of popery in that land, their hopes were lately turned into despairs, who had his education on contrary principles. A.D. 1585. 28 Eliz.

41. Whereupon hereafter they diverted their eyes from the north to the west, expecting (contrary to the course of nature) that their sun should rise therein, in magnifying the might of the king of Spain, and his zeal to propagate the Roman catholic faith. And this was the practice of all Jesuits, to possess their English proselytes with high opinions of the Spanish power, as the nation designed by Divine Providence to work the restitution of their religion in England. Unto the king of Spain.

42. In order hereunto, and to hearten their countrymen, some (for it appears the result of several persons employed in the designing and effecting thereof) drew up a title of the king of Spain's to the English crown, as much admired by their own party as slighted by the queen and her loyal subjects, for being full of falsehoods and forgeries. Indeed it is easy for any indifferent herald so to derive a pedigree as in some seeming probability to entitle any prince in Christendom to any principality in Christendom; but such will shrink on serious examination. Yea, I believe queen Elizabeth might pretend a better title to the kingdoms of Leon and Castile in Spain (as descended by the house of York, from Edmund earl of Cambridge and his lady, co- Pretending a title to the crown of England.

A.D. 1585. 28 Eliz.

heir to king Peter) than any claim that the king of Spain could make out to the kingdom of England. However much mischief was done hereby, many papists paying their good wishes where they were not due, and defrauding the queen, their true creditor, of the allegiance belonging unto her.

An act without precedent.

43. Now did the queen summon a parliament[a],

[a] [See D'Ewes' Journal, pp. 375, 391. Strype's Whitgift, p. 256. The parliament began on the 29th of October, 1586, and was dissolved on the 23rd of March, 1587. The next parliament began on the 4th of February, 1589, and ended on the 29th of March the same year. "This new parliament," says D'Ewes, "assembled on "Saturday the 29th day of "October, 1586, immediate- "ly after ensuing; at which "time the queen came not to "the upper house in person, "but was represented by three "commissioners, [viz. the arch- "bishop, the lord treasurer, "and lord steward,] not, as "her majesty afterwards pro- "fessed, because she feared "the violence of any assassin, "but because she abhorred to "be an hearer of so foul and "unnatural a conspiracy, plot- "ted against her by the Scot- "tish queen, a kinswoman so "near her highness."

But as to the quietness of the nonconformists, Fuller is much mistaken; for during this very parliament a most strange and bigoted motion was made by one of their order. The reader shall have in D'Ewes' own words: "The same day [sc. Monday, "27th Feb. 1587] Mr. Cope, "first using some speeches "touching the necessity of a "learned ministry and the "amendment of things amiss "in the ecclesiastical estate, "offered to the house a bill, "and a book written, the bill "containing a petition that it "might be enacted, *That all "laws now in force touch- "ing ecclesiastical government "should be void; and that it "might be enacted, That that "Book of Common Prayer now "offered, and none other, might "be received into the church to "be used.* The book contained "the form of prayer and ad- "ministration of sacraments, "with divers rites and ceremo- "nies to be used in the church; "and desired that the book "might be read. Whereupon "Mr. Speaker, in effect, used "this speech: 'For that her "majesty before this time had "commanded the house not to "meddle with this matter, and "that her majesty had pro- "mised to take order in those "causes, he doubted not but "to the good satisfaction of all "her people; he desired that it "would please them to spare "the reading of it. Notwith-

wherein her majesty appeared not in person, but passed over the presidentship of that her great council unto John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, William Cecil, lord treasurer, and to the earl of Derby[b]: a thing done without precedent, when the king at home and in health; but the pleasure of so powerful a princess might create a leading case in things of this nature. A.D. 1587. 30 Eliz.

44. Wonder not if the nonconformists were very quiet in this parliament, beholding the archbishop their great adversary in so great power and place. However their activity in the next will make their party amends for their stillness in this session. Good reason why the nonconformists were quiet.

45. This year ended the doleful life of a distressed lady, Mary queen of Scots, whose trial and death belongeth to the state historian. She was aged forty-six years, passing the last twenty in imprisonment; one of a sharp wit, undaunted spirit, comely person, beautiful face, majestic presence: one reason why queen Elizabeth declined (what the other so much desired) a personal conference with her, as The death of Mary queen of Scotland.

" standing the house desired " the reading of it. Where- " upon Mr. Speaker willed " the clerk to read it. And " the Court being ready to read " it, Mr. Dalton made a mo- " tion against the reading of " it, saying that it was not " meet to be read, *and that it* " *did appoint a new form of* " *administration of the sacra-* " *ments and ceremonies of the* " *church, to the discredit of the* " *Book of Common Prayer,* " *and of the whole state;* and " thought that this dealing " would bring her majesty's " indignation against the house " thus to enterprise the deal- " ing with those things which " her majesty especially had " taken into her own charge " and direction. Whereupon " Mr. Lewknor spake, shewing " the necessity of preaching " and of a learned ministry, " and thought it very fit that " the petition and the book " should be read." D'Ewes' Journals, p. 410.]

[b] [Henry Stanley.]

A. D. 1587. 30 Eliz. unwilling to be either outshone or even-shone in her own hemisphere. For her morals, the belief of moderate men embraceth a middle course betwixt Buchanan his aspersing and Causinus his hyperbolical commending her, because zealous in his own religion.

Her poetry. 46. She was an excellent poet, both Latin and English; of the former I have read a distich made and written by her own hand on a pane of glass at Buxton Well:

> "*Buxtona quæ calidæ celebraris*[c] *nomine lymphæ,*
> "*Forte mihi posthac non adeunda, vale.*"

> "Buxton, who dost with waters warm excel,
> "By me, perchance, never more seen, farewell!"

And at Fotheringhay Castle I have read, written by her in a window with a pointed diamond,

> "From the top of all my trust,
> "Mishap hath laid me in the dust."

But her adversaries conceive, had she not been laid there, the happiness of England had been prostrated in the same place. She was buried in the quire of Peterborough, and doctor Wickham, bishop of Lincoln, preached her funeral sermon[d], causelessly carped at by the Martin Mar-prelate, as too favourable concerning her final condition, though he uttered nothing inconsistent with charity and Christian discretion.

Her body removed to Westminster. 47. Some twenty years after, king James caused

[c] So it is in the glass I had in my hand, though it be *celebrabere* in Camd. Brit. in Derbyshire.

[d] [See Gunton's History of Peterborough, and Wood's Athen. I. 712.]

her corpse to be solemnly removed from Peterbo- A. D. 1587.
rough to Westminster, where, in the south side of 30 Eliz.
the chapel of king Henry the Seventh, he erected a stately monument to her memory, and thereon this epitaph, wherein such cannot but commend the piety of her son who will not believe all the praises of his mother:

" D. O. M.

" Mariæ Stuartæ, Scotorum Reginæ, Franciæ Do-
" tariæ, Jacobi V. Scotorum Regis Filiæ et Hæredis
" unicæ, Henrici VII. Ang. Regis ex Margareta
" majori Natu Filia (Jacobi IIII. Regi Scotorum
" matrimonio copulata) proneptis, Edwardi IIII.
" Angliæ Regis ex Elizabetha Filiarum natu maxima
" abneptis, Francisci II. Gallorum Regis conjugis,
" Coronæ Angliæ, dum vixit, certæ et indubitatæ
" hæredis, et Jacobi magnæ Britanniæ monarchæ
" potentissimi matris.

" Stirpe vere regia et antiquissima prognata erat,
" maximis totius Europæ principibus agnatione et
" cognatione conjuncta, et exquisitissimis animi et
" corporis dotibus et ornamentis cumulatissima. Ve-
" rum, ut sunt variæ rerum humanarum vices, post-
" quam annos plus minus viginti in custodia detenta,
" fortiter et strenue, (sed frustra,) cum malevolorum
" obtrectationibus, timidorum suspicionibus, et ini-
" micorum capitalium insidiis conflictata esset; tan-
" dem inaudito et infesto Regibus exemplo securi
" percutitur.

" Et contempto mundo, devicta morte, lassato
" carnifice, Christo Servatori animæ salutem, Ja-
" cobo Filio spem regni et posteritatis, et universis
" cædis infaustæ spectatoribus exemplum patientiæ

A. D. 1587. 30 Eliz. "commendans, pie et intrepide Cervicem regiam "securi maledictæ subjecit, et vitæ caducæ sortem "cum cœlestis regni perennitate commutavit."

Besides this, there is a long inscription in verses, one distich whereof I remember, because it is the same in effect with what was made of Maud the empress.

On Maud.

"*Magna ortu, majorque viro, sed maxima partu,*
"*Hic jacet Henrici filia, sponsa, parens.*"

On Queen Mary.

"*Magna viro, major natu, sed maxima partu,*
"*Conditur hic regis filia, sponsa, parens* [e]."

So that it is no disgrace for a queen to wear part of an epitaph at the second hand, with some little alteration.

A design propounded;

48. About this time it was that some privy councillors endeavoured to persuade queen Elizabeth to raise and foment a difference betwixt the pope and king of Spain, and to assist the former (not as pope, but temporal prince) by her shipping to regain Naples, detained from him by the Spanish king. They alleged the design advantageous, to work a diversion of Spanish forces, and prevent an invasion of her own land.

[e] [These are two of the concluding verses of Henry earl of Northampton's exquisite elegy upon Mary queen of Scots, a correct copy of which is printed in Dr. Nott's edition of Surrey's Poems, p. 473. 4to. Lond. 1815. But both the prose inscription and the verses vary much from the copies printed by Fuller.]

49. But her majesty would not listen to the motion to entertain compliance in any capacity on any conditions with the pope, as dishonourable in herself, distasteful to the protestant princes; nor would she touch pitch in jest, for fear of being defiled in earnest, but crushed the design in the birth thereof. A. D. 1587. 30 Eliz. and blasted by the queen.

50. A first onset was now made by the nonconformists against the hierarchy; though the more they opposed it, the more the queen did countenance their persons and preserve their power; insomuch that she would not in Lent feed on any fish, as forbidden by the canons of the church, until she had first attained a solemn license from the archbishop of Canterbury, and every year of her life renewed the same [f]. Conformity to the height.

51. The power of the high commission began now to extend far, and penalties to fall heavy on offenders. Whereupon the favourers of the nonconformists much opposed it in their printed books, some questioning the court as not warranted by law, others taxing their proceedings as exceeding their commission. But hear their arguments on both sides:

Against the High Commission.	For the High Commission.
It is pretended founded on the statute *primo Eli-*	The words in the statute run thus: "They shall have full

[f] Camden's Eliz. Manuscript, shortly likely to be printed. [Since printed; which see, in the year 1587. This was usual in this reign, no persons of any seriousness attempting to violate the directions of the church in this respect. Generally, also, such dispensations for eating meat were granted on condition of certain sums being paid to the poor. See Strype's Whitgift, p. 246.]

A.D. 1587. 30 Eliz.

Against the High Commission.

zabethæ, wherein the parliament empowered the queen by her letters patents to appoint commissioners to punish offenders in ecclesiastical causes. But no mention therein of temporal penalties, and therefore the commissioners are to confine themselves to church censures, by excommunicating, &c., illegally inflicting any other punishments.

Such commissioners proceeding against offenders by attachment, fine, or imprisonment, are contrary to the express words of Charta Magna, providing "that no free "man shall be taken or "imprisoned, or be dis-"seised of his freehold "and liberty, and but by "the lawful judgment of "his peers, or of the law "of the land."

Their whole commission is void in law, because it beareth date in July, but was not signed till November next after,

For the High Commission.

"power and authority, by vir-"tue of this act, and of the "letters patents under your "highness, your heirs and suc-"cessors, to exercise, use, exe-"cute all the premises accord-"ing to the tenor and effect of "the said letters patents, any "matter or cause to the con-"trary in any wise notwith-"standing." Now their letters patents enable them to attach, fine, or imprison, &c.; in doing whereof they are sufficiently empowered by the commission.

When Charta Magna was made, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, though it was *de jure*, it was not *de facto*, in the king; whereby it plainly appears that those words related not to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but only to crimes belonging to the common law. But since the parliament hath declared ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the queen, the ecclesiastical persons might impose such penalties, even to the condemning of heretics, though never tried by a jury.

It appeareth by the preamble of that statute, that the words cannot be stretched to letters patents of that nature, but belong only to such; to private

Against the High Commission.

contrary to the statute, which enjoineth that letters patents "should be "dated the day of their "delivery into Chancery," or else they shall be void.

For the High Commission. A.D. 1587. 30 Eliz.

persons, wherein grantees are unjustly expelled out of their right by colour of letters patents bearing an elder date g.

But the most general exception against the high commission was this: that proceeding, *ex officio mero*, by way of inquiry against such whom they pleased to suspect, they tendered unto them an oath, which was conceived unjust, that in cases criminal a party should be forced to discover what might be penal to himself; the lawfulness of which oath was learnedly canvassed with arguments on both sides.

Against the Oath *ex officio.*

The common laws have ever rejected and impugned it, never put in ure by any civil magistrate in the land; but as it is corruptly crept in amongst other abuses by

For the Oath *ex officio.*

It is true, to give this oath to the defendant in causes of life and death is contrary to the justice of the land; but where life or limb is not concerned, it is usually tendered in chancery, court of requests, council of

g [Upon this subject generally, see a treatise entitled "An Apology for sundry Pro-"ceedings by Jurisdiction Ec-"clesiastical, of late times by "some challenged, and also "directly by them impugned." 4to. 1593. Supposed to have been written by Dr. Richard Cosin, vicar-general to archbishop Whitgift; of which book, and the arguments against the oath *ex officio*, which it was intended to answer, a detailed account will be found in Strype's Whitgift, p. 338. One of the most valuable pamphlets on the subject was written by Edward Lake, chancellor to the bishop of Lincoln; of whom, see Wood's Athen. II. 323.]

A. D. 1587. 30 Eliz.

Against the Oath *ex officio*.

the sinister practices and pretences of the Romish prelates and clergymen. And where loss of life, liberty, or good name, may ensue, the common law hath forbidden such oath.

It is contrary to the fundamental law of liberty, *nemo tenetur seipsum prodere.*

It appeareth by the lord Dyer's book that one Hynde, called before the commissioners ecclesiasti-

For the Oath *ex officio*.

marches, and council in the north, yea, in other courts of record at Westminster; where the judges (time out of mind) by corporal oath did examine any person whom, in discretion, they suspected to have dealt lewdly about any writ, return, entry of rule, pleading, or any such-like matter, not being capital.

It is granted, but withal *proditus per denuntiationem, famam*, &c. *tenetur seipsum offendere.* Some faults are simply secret, no way bruited or published abroad; in which cases the person guilty is not bound to make confession thereof, though urged on his oath to any officer civil or ecclesiastical. But if once discovery be made by presentment, denunciation, fame, &c. according to law, then is not the fault merely secret, but revealed in some sort to the magistrate, or abroad, who for avoiding scandal to Christian religion, and reformation of the party, may thus inquire of the offence, to see it redressed and punished.

There is no such report in the lord Dyer; all that is extant is only this marginal note upon Skrogg's his case in Mi-

Against the Oath *ex officio.*

cal for usury, refused to swear; whereupon he was committed. But upon an information in the Common Pleas, he had a *corpus cum causa*, to remove him; so, as it seemeth, the judges were then of opinion that the commissioners could not give him such an oath.

Though such proceedings *ex officio* were practised by the popish prelates against the saints and servants of God, yet it was never used by protestants in their ecclesiastical censures.

The justice of the land detesteth that the judge should himself be an accuser, (for by law no man may be accuser and witness, indicter and juror,

For the Oath *ex officio.*

A.D. 1587. 30 Eliz.

chaelmas Term, 18th of Elizabeth: *Simile* M. 18. *fol. per Hynde qui noluit jurare coram justiciariis ecclesiasticis, super articulos pro usura.* Which seems added by some unskilful person, it being improbable so learned a judge would have termed the commissioners *justiciarios ecclesiasticos.* Besides, this cause of Hynde can nowhere else be found.

Certain commissioners (whereof some bishops, some privy counsellors, some civilians, and some judges and common lawyers) in the reign of king Edward the Sixth charged bishop Bonner with a corporal oath *ex officio*, to answer to questions ministered unto him; and for refusal he was pronounced contumacious[i]. The like oath in matter criminal and penal was tendered to Stephen Gardiner[k], as appeareth by the sentence of his deprivation of the bishopric of Winchester.

The laws civil and ecclesiastical hold not the judge proceeding of office to be an accuser; but that whereupon the inquiry is grounded to represent the accusation.

[i] Fox, &c. II. p. 681, 694. [k] Fox, &c. II. p. 738.

A. D. 1587. 30 Eliz.

Against the Oath *ex officio*.

For the Oath *ex officio*.

therefore much less judge and accuser,) which notwithstanding he is that tendereth the oath *ex officio*.

Even the heathen Romans were so Christian, that by ancient custom no vestal virgin or flamen of Jupiter [l] was restrained to swear, whereof Plutarch [m] rendereth three reasons: first, because an oath is a kind of torture to a free man; secondly, it is absurd, in smaller matters, not to credit their words, who in higher matters, touching God, are believed; thirdly, an oath, in case they were foresworn, draweth a curse on them, a detestable omination towards the priests of God. And why may not as much be allowed to the true ministers of the gospel?

By the granting of this peculiar privilege to these persons, it plainly appeareth that all others might by magistrates be put to their oaths. Besides, such were superstitiously freed from swearing absolutely, and not only in matters criminal, here controverted; an unreasonable immunity, which none will challenge to themselves.

The scripture, which ought to be the rule of our actions, affords neither precepts nor precedent of such proceedings, where witnesses were produced,

It is not necessary that a positive or affirmative warrant be cited out of scripture for all our practices: sufficeth it that may be done which is not contrary to God's word and conformable

[l] Gellius, lib. x. cap. 15.

[m] Plutarch, Problems, 43.

Against the Oath *ex officio.*

For the Oath *ex officio.*

A.D. 1587. 30 Eliz.

and the accusers brought face to face.

to the politic laws of the land. Yet have we some footsteps of inquiry in the judicial law. When one was found secretly murdered in the field, and the murderer neither known nor suspected, the elders of the next city (of whose guiltiness there was no detection nor cause of presumption, save only the vicinage and nearness of the place) were solemnly and secretly to swear before the priest [n], *conceptis verbis*, that their hands had not shed this blood, &c. If this was equal in matters capital, how can it be challenged for tyrannical in matters criminal?

William Tindal, a worthy martyr, in his Comment on the fifth of Matthew [o], saith plainly, that "a judge ought not to "compel a man to swear "against himself."

Allowing all due respect to Tindal's memory, his judgment much failed him in matters of oaths; for in the following words he taketh away all necessary oaths, and leaveth none but voluntary, which no wise man will defend.

No protestant church beyond the seas hath made use of such tyrannical proceedings.

Even Geneva itself doth sometimes proceed by oaths *ex officio* against such suspected offenders, as in the two following cases will appear.

[n] Deut. xxi. 7.

[o] P. 208.

A.D. 1587. 30 Eliz. There was one Cumperel of Geneva ordained minister for a parish in that territory, called Drallian, who had a secret design under hand to place himself in the state of Berne, which in him was esteemed a heinous fault. The consistory, coming at some notice hereof, ministered unto him an oath of *mere office* to answer to several questions. But because Cumperel answered not directly to those interrogatories (two whereof concerned the very cogitations of his heart,) and because there were *vehementia judicia*, great presumption in the common fame, the consistory pronounced that they had just cause to depose him from his ministry [p].

A memorable story in Geneva. 52. There was a wealthy widow living in Geneva, called Balthazar, in whose house there was a dancing held, which is a grievous crime in that church, and condemned by their last form of discipline. Amongst these dancers one was a syndic, (one of the four chief magistrates of the city,) the other an elder (Henrich by name) of the church for that year. The matter coming to Calvin's ear, they were all convented before the consistory, without any accuser or party, and therefore of *mere office* put to their corporal oaths to confess the truth. The elder pleaded for himself the words of St. Paul, *receive not an accusation against an elder under two or three witnesses* [q]; which would nothing bestead him, so that he was deposed from his eldership, and the syndic from his magistracy, until he should shew some public testimony of his repentance.

First grievance com- 53. But enough of this unwelcome subject; only

[p] Inter Epistol. Calvini in fol. pag. 421, 422.

[q] Calvin in his Letter to Farellus, Calvini Epist. 64.

I must add that some there were, not offended with the oath itself, which took exceptions at the injurious manner of offering it. They complained (how justly God knows) of some created fames on no grounds, and pretended suspicions of crimes against those persons to whom they bare ill affection, and then tendered this oath (the picklock of conscience) unto them, merely to find matter to ensnare them. A.D. 1587. 30 Eliz. They complained of in tendering the oath.

54. Secondly, they complained, that to discover their complices, in their disciplinary assemblies children were on their oaths interrogated against their own fathers, contrary to the rule in civil law, *Filius non torquetur in caput patris*,—"a child ought not "to be tortured in point of peril to his father's life." And although these accusations were not capital, yet, because their parents' credit was so deeply concerned therein, such proceedings had a strong tang of tyranny. Second grievance.

55. Thirdly, the party to whom the oath was given might not beforehand be acquainted (a favour usually afforded in the Star-Chamber) with the particulars whereon they were to be examined; and if, by the rule of Solomon, *he that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is shame and folly unto him*[r], much more is it indiscreet to swear to answer a matter before a man hear it. Third grievance.

56. Fourthly, they complained this oath *ex officio* (like what is said of black witches) had only power to do mischief, not to heal and help any; for none were cleared by the taking thereof, if denying what was charged upon them; but the judges ecclesias- Fourth grievance.

[r] Prov. xviii. 13.

A. D. 1587. 30 Eliz. tical ofttimes proceeded to a further inquiry by examination of witnesses on the points denied by the parties.

Four ranks of refusers of this oath.

57. The nonconformists who refused to take this oath may be ranked into four forms: first, such as would answer neither yea nor nay what they would resolve to do concerning the oath, but returned, *if our souls be hidden, tarry till the Lord come, and make the counsels of our hearts manifest*[s]; but if they be manifest, let our accuser and the witnesses come forth before us.

Second.

58. A second sort refused not the oath in a cause criminal, but did it with this limitation and protestation, that they intended not to be bound thereby to accuse either themselves or their brethren.

Third.

59. A third sort conceived themselves bound to reveal their own and brothers' crimes and offences, "to remove evil from the land," as they said; but as for such actions of their brothers, falsely reputed offences, which were none in the judgment of the party examined, these they held themselves not bound to reveal.

The last rank.

60. The last sort, though they took the oath as to other things, yet protested they counted not themselves bound to answer to any such things whereon witnesses may be had; but if the crime was so hidden and secret that witnesses may not be had, they thought they might lawfully be charged. For instance, they held a preacher might not be examined on oath concerning any thing he had preached in public, alleging the words of our Saviour, *Why askest thou me? ask them that heard*

[s] 2 Cor. iv. 5.

me: they know what I said[t]. It is hard to make the opinion of the first and last form to dwell peaceably together. A. D. 1587. 30 Eliz.

61. We take our leave of this subject, when we have told the reader that some twenty years since, one being urged by archbishop Laud to take the oath *ex officio*, refused it on this reason: "An oath," saith he, "by the words of the apostle, *is an end* "*of all strife*[u]; whereas this," saith he, "is the "beginning of strife, yields matter for the lawyers "to molest me." But since the high commission and this oath are taken away by act of parliament, it is to be hoped that, if such swearing were so great a grievance, *nihil analogum*, nothing like unto it (which may amount to as much) shall hereafter be substituted in the room thereof.

62. Let it not here be forgotten, that because many did question the legality and authority of the high commission, archbishop Whitgift so contrived the matter that the most sturdy and refractory nonconformists, especially if they had any visible estates, were brought into the Star-Chamber, the power whereof was above dispute; where some of them, besides imprisonment, had very heavy fines imposed upon them. And because most of the queen's council were present at the censures, this took off the odium from the archbishop, which in the high commission lighted chiefly if not only upon him, and fell almost equally on all present therein. Nonconformists persecuted in the Star-Chamber.

63. John Fox this year ended his life, to whom in some respect our history of him may resemble The death of Mr. Fox;

[t] John xviii. 21. [u] Heb. vi. 16.

A. D. 1587. 30 Eliz. itself[x]; for he in his lifetime was so large a reliever of poor people, to and above his estate, that no wonder if at his death, with some charitable churls, he bequeathed no legacies unto them. Thus have we been so bountiful in describing the life and transcribing the letters of this worthy confessor, that the reader will excuse us if at his death we give no farther character of his piety and painfulness. Only let me add, that whereas there passeth a tradition, grounded on good authority, that Mr. Fox foretold the ruin and destruction of the invincible (so called) armado in the eighty-eight, the story is true in itself, though he survived not to see the performance of his own prediction.

64. Nor will it be amiss to insert his epitaph, as we find it on his monument in St. Giles, nigh Cripplegate, in London:

"Christo S. S.

"Johanni Foxo Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ martyrologo "fidelissimo, antiquitatis historicæ indagatori saga- "cissimo, evangelicæ veritatis propugnatori acerrimo, "thaumaturgo admirabili, qui martyres Marianos, "tanquam phœnices, ex cineribus redivivos præ- "stitit."

and of Dr. Humfrey. 65. His dear friend, Dr. Laurence Humfrey, may be said to die with him, (though his languishing

[x] [A very interesting Life of Fox, said to be written by his son Samuel Fox, fellow of Magdalene College in Oxford, is prefixed to the second volume of his Acts and Monuments, ed. 1641. In this Life several instances are given of his exercising what he himself conceived to be the spirit of prophecy. See also Wood's Athen. I. 230.]

life lasted a year longer,) so great his grief to be parted from his fellow-colleague, bred together in Oxford, and banished together into Germany. But see more of his character in the year 1596, where by mistake (which here I freely confess) his death is inserted. A. D. 1587. 30 Eliz.

66. About this time Mr. William Lambert finished his hospital at Greenwich, founded and endowed by him for poor people. He was the first protestant who erected a charitable house of that nature, as our antiquary observeth [y]; though I cannot wholly concur with this observation, seeing king Edward the Sixth founded Christ Church and St. Thomas's Hospital. The first protestant hospital

67. Indeed now (pardon a short digression) began beautiful buildings in England, as to the generality thereof, whose homes were but homely before, as small and ill-contrived, much timber being needlessly lavished upon them. But now many most regular pieces of architecture were erected; so that, as one saith, they began to dwell *latius* and *lautius*; but I suspect not *lætius*, hospitality daily much decaying. Beautiful buildings begin in England.

68. Amongst other structures, Wimbledon House, in Surrey, was this year begun (and finished the next, as appeareth by an inscription therein) by sir Thomas Cecil, afterward lord Burghley; on the selfsame token that, many years after, Gondomar (treated therein by the lord with a plentiful feast) was highly affected with his entertainment, and much commended the uniformity of the fabric, till

[y] Camd. Brit. in Kent.

A. D. 1587. 30 Eliz. the date thereof (shewed unto him) dashed all, as built when the Spanish armado was defeated.

Nonconformists stir.

69. Indeed, at this time, there was more uniformity in the buildings than conformity in the church behaviour of men; the sticklers against the hierarchy appearing now more vigorous, though for a time they had concealed themselves.

SECT. VII.

TO

MR. HAMOND WARD, AND MR. RICHARD FULLER,

OF LONDON, MERCHANTS[a].

It is usual for the plaintiff to put two or three names upon the same writ, taken out of the upper Bench, (always provided the persons dwell in the same county,) and this is done to save charges. My thanks doth here embrace the same way of thrift, that so the small stock of my History may hold out the better amongst my many friends and favourers. And this my joint Dedication is the more proper, because you live in the same city, are of the same profession, and (if not formerly) this may minister the welcome occasion of your future acquaintance.

BUT now a session of parliament was held at Westminster, wherein the House of Commons presented to the lords spiritual and temporal a petition, complaining how many parishes, especially

A.D. 1587. 30 Eliz.

A sixteenfold petition presented by the commons to the lords in parliament.

[a] [Arms of Ward. A buck passant, proper, collared, lined and ringed, or. This is the crest of the noble family of the Wards of Norfolk; and I cannot help thinking that Fuller has mistaken the crest for the arms. I can find no trace whatever of this person.

Arms of Fuller. Argent. Three bars and a canton gules. Second son of Bostock Fuller, esq. of Tandridge Court in Surrey, and Frances daughter of Erasmus Gainsford, of Crowhurst, Surrey, esq. A blank for his arms occurs in the MS. Visitation of Middlesex, p. 2. 1664. This is all the information which, after considerable search, I have been able to gain respecting him.]

A. D. 1587. 30 Eliz. in the north of England and Wales, were destitute of preachers, and no care taken to supply them. Sixteen were the particulars, whereof the six first were against insufficient ministers; very earnestly pressing their taking the same into their serious consideration, for speedy redress of the grievances therein contained.

vii. That no oath or subscription might be tendered to any at their entrance into ministry, but such as is expressly prescribed by the statutes of this realm, except the oath against corrupt entering.

viii. That they may not be troubled for omission of some rites or portions prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer.

ix. That they may not be called and urged to answer before the officials and commissaries, but before the bishops themselves.

x. That such as had been suspended or deprived for no other offence, but only for not subscribing, might be restored; and that the bishops would forbear their excommunication, *ex officio mero*, of godly and learned preachers, not detected for open offence of life, or apparent error in doctrine.

xi. That they might not be called before the high commission, or out of the diocese where they lived, except for some notable offence.

xii. That it might be permitted to them, in every archdeaconry, to have some common exercises and conferences amongst themselves, to be limited and prescribed by the ordinaries.

xiii. That the high censure of excommunication may not be denounced or executed for small matters.

xiv. Nor by chancellors, commissaries, or officials,

but by the bishops themselves, with assistance of grave persons. A. D. 1587. 30 Eliz.

xv. xvi. That non-residency may be quite removed out of the church, or at least that (according to the Queen's Injunctions, Art. 44) no non-resident having already a licence or faculty may enjoy it, unless he depute an able curate, that may weekly preach and catechise, as is required in her majesty's Injunctions.

Of all these particulars the house fell most fiercely on the debate of pluralities, and the effect thereof, non-residents.

2. Archbishop Whitgift pleaded that licences for non-residency were at the present but seldom granted; and yet, in way of recovering health by changing of air, of study for a time in the university, of mortal enmity borne by some in the parish, of prosecution of law, or of being employed in public affairs, they cannot be wholly abrogated; that there were in England four thousand five hundred benefices, with cure, not above ten and most of them under eight pounds in the first-fruits book, which cannot be furnished with able pastors, as the petitioners desire, because of the smallness of their livings. Moreover he affirmed, that whatever was pretended to the contrary, England at that time flourished with able ministers more than ever before —yea, had more than all Christendom besides. The archbishop's plea for non-residents.

3. The lord Grey rejoined to this assertion of "more learned ministers in the Church of England "than ever heretofore—nay, than in all the reformed "churches in Christendom," this, "that it was not "to be attributed to the bishops or their actions, "but to God, who now opened the hearts of many "to see into the truth, and that the schools were "better observed." The lord Grey, his rejoinder.

A. D. 1587. 30 Eliz.

The lord-treasurer his moderation.

4. The lord-treasurer Burghley, seeming to moderate betwixt them, after a long and learned oration, concluded, "that he was not so scrupulous as absolutely to like of the bill against pluralities, without "any exception; for he did favour both learning, "and wished a competent reward to it; and therefore could like and allow a learned man to have "two benefices, so they were both in one parish, "that is to say, in one diocese, and not one in the "diocese of Winchester and another in the north, "where the several diocesans would have no regard "of them; whereas, being both in one diocese, the "bishop would look unto them."

Others interpret.

5. Here it was signified that her majesty was acquainted with the matter, and that she was very forward to redress the faults, and therefore required the bishops not to hinder her good and gracious purpose, for that her majesty would confer with them.

The lord Grey (quære whether of Wilton, or, what most probable, of Ruthen, afterwards earl of Kent) replied [b].

6. The lord Grey again said, "he greatly wondered at her majesty, that she would make choice "to confer with those who were all enemies to "reformation, for that it merely touched their freeholds; and therefore he thought it good the house "should make choice of some to be joined with "them; also he wished the bishops might be served "as they were in king Henry the Eighth's days, "when, as in the case of *præmunire*, they were all "thrust out of doors."

[b] [It was, doubtless, the lord Grey of Wilton; for this lord, as Lloyd says, was but a back-friend to bishops, and in all divisions of votes in parliament or council-table sided with the anti-prelatical party. Worthies, I. 477. He was equally distinguished for his misconduct and cruelty in Ireland.]

7. Then the lord-treasurer said, "that the bishops, A. D. 1587. "if they were wise, would themselves be humble 30 Eliz. "suitors to her majesty to have some of the tem- "poral lords joined with them."

8. The lord-chamberlain utterly disliked the lord Grey's motion, alleging, "that it was not to be liked "of that the lords should appoint her majesty any "to confer withal, but that it should be left to "her own election."

9. Matters flying thus high, the archbishop, with the rest of the clergy, conceived it the safest way to apply themselves by petition to the queen, which they presented as followeth: The bishops providently petition the queen.

"To the Queen's most excellent Majesty.

"The woful and distressed state whereinto we are "like to fall forceth us, with grief of heart, in most "humble manner to crave your majesty's most sove- "reign protection; for the pretence being made the "maintenance and increase of a learned ministry, "when it is thoroughly weighed, decayeth learning, "spoileth their livings, taketh away the set form "of prayer in the church, and is the means to bring "in confusion and barbarism. How dangerous in- "novations are in a settled estate, whosoever hath "judgment perceiveth. Set dangers apart, yet such "great inconveniences may ensue, as will make a "state lamentable and miserable. Our neighbours' "miseries might make us fearful, but that we know "who rules the same. All the reformed churches "in Europe cannot compare with England in the "number of learned ministers. These benefits of "your majesty's most sacred and careful government "with hearty joy we feel, and humbly acknowledge;

A. D. 1587. 30 Eliz. "senseless are they that repine at it, and careless "who lightly regard it. The respect hereof made "the prophet to say, *Dii estis.* All the faithful and "discreet clergy say, *O Dea certe* — Nothing is im- "possible with God [c]. Requests without grounded "reasons are lightly to be rejected. We therefore, "not as directors, but as humble remembrancers, "beseech your highness' favourable beholding of our "present state, and what it will be in time to come, "if the bill against pluralities should take any "place."

To the petition were annexed a catalogue of those inconveniences to the state present, state to come, cathedral churches, universities, to her majesty, to religion—in case pluralities were taken away—here too large to be inserted [d]. So that, in effect, nothing was effected as in relation to this matter, but things left *in statu quo prius* at the dissolution of this parliament.

The death of bishop Barnes;

10. Amongst the mortalities of this year, most remarkable the death of Richard Barnes, bishop of Durham, one commendable in himself, but much suffering for the corruption and viciousness of John Barnes, his brother, and chancellor [e]. This bishop was bred in Brasenose College, made suffragan of Nottingham, (the last, I believe, who wore that title,) and behaved himself very gravely in his diocese; a great friend at last to Bernard Gilpin, though at first by some ill instruments incensed

[c] ["A Greek sentence," (observes Strype, who has also printed this letter,) "falsely "and illegibly written in the "copy." Whitgift, 280.]

[d] [These, with the above petition, are printed in Strype's Whitgift, p. 280.]

[e] Bishop Carleton's Life of Bernard Gilpin, p. 190. [Fuller's Worthies, II. 197.]

against him [f]; and seeing they were loving in their lives, their memories in my book shall not be divided, though I confess the latter died some three years before. A. D. 1587. 30 Eliz.

11. This Bernard Gilpin, born of a right worshipful family, at Kentmire in Westmoreland, had Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham, for his great-uncle. He was bred first in Queen's College, then Christchurch, in Oxford; and no doubt the prayers of Peter Martyr conduced to his conversion to be a protestant; for he, hearing this Gilpin dispute cordially on the popish party, desired of God that so good affections might not be misguided, and at last obtained his desire. And of Bernard Gilpin.

12. He weathered out the reign of queen Mary, partly with his travels beyond the seas, (chiefly residing at Louvain and Paris;) partly, after his return, by the favour of his uncle Tunstall, before whom he was often cited, (chiefly about the eucharist,) but was discharged by confessing the real presence, and that the manner thereof transcended his apprehension; Tunstall not enforcing him to the particularity of transubstantiation, as using himself to complain on pope Innocent for defining *de modo* to be an article of faith. However his foes so hardly beset him, that once he ordered his servant to provide for him a long shroud, not for his winding but burning sheet, as expecting at last he should be brought to the stake for his religion. But men may make clothes, either for mirth or for mourning, whilst God alone orders whether or no they shall wear them. Hardly escaped in queen Mary's days.

[f] [By Hugh Broughton, the celebrated adversary of bishop Bilson, a man whose learning was more than counterbalanced by his violent temper, arrogance, and insubordination. See Carleton's Life of Gilpin, p. 311, ed. Bates.]

A.D. 1587. 30 Eliz. 13. After the coming of queen Elizabeth to the crown, he with more earnestness refused a bishopric than others affected it. His parsonage at Haughton, as it might seem a bishop's palace for building, so was it no less for hospitality. Fourteen villages belonging to that mother church, the poor whereof (besides many others) were daily relieved at his door; twenty scholars he commonly boarded in his house, which seemed a little college. In a word, he was commonly called father Gilpin, and well deserved it, for his paternal affections to all; making his yearly progress into Rhedesdale and Tinsdale, in Northumberland, where people sat in darkness of ignorance and shadow of death, and instructing them by his heavenly preaching.

A single man, yet a true father.

The brave coming forth of the Spanish armado.

14. Now began that fatal year generally foretold that it would be wonderful, as it proved no less [g]. Whence the astrologers fetched their intelligence hereof, (whether from heaven or hell, from other stars, or from Lucifer alone,) is uncertain: this is most sure, that this prediction, though hitting the mark, yet missed their meaning, who both first reported and most believed it. Out comes their invincible navy and army, perfectly appointed for both elements, water and land, to sail and march complete in all warlike equipage; so that formerly, with far less provision, they had conquered another new world. Mighty was the bulk of their ships, the sea seeming to groan under them, (being a burden to it as they went, and to themselves before they returned,) with all manner of artillery, prodigious in number and greatness; so that the report of their guns does still, and ought ever, to sound in the ears

g [Camden's Eliz. 1588.]

of the English, not to fright them with any terror, but to fill them with deserved thankfulness. A. D. 1588. 31 Eliz.

15. It is said of Sennacherib, coming against Jerusalem with his numerous army, *by the way that he came shall he return, and shall not come into this city, saith the Lord*[h]. As the latter part of this threatening was verified here, (no Spaniard setting foot on English ground under other notion than a prisoner,) so God did not them the honour to return the same way; who, coming by south-east, (a way they knew,) went back by south-west, (a way they sought,) chased by our ships past the fifty-seventh degree of northern latitude, then and there left to be pursued after by hunger and cold[i]. Thus, having tasted the English valour in conquering them, the Scotch constancy in not relieving them, the Irish cruelty in barbarously butchering them, the small reversion of this great navy which came home might be looked upon by religious eyes as relics, not for the adoration but instruction of their nation hereafter, not to account any thing invincible which is less than infinite. The shameful fight and return thereof.

16. Such as lose themselves by looking on second causes impute the Spanish ill success partly to the prince of Parma, who, either mind-bound or wind-bound, staying himself or stopped by the Hollander, would or could not come to their seasonable succour[k]; and partly to the duke of Medina's want of commission to fight with the English, save on the defensive, till joined with Parma. Thus, when God will have a design defeated, amidst the plenty, yea, superfluity of all imaginable necessaries, some unsus- This deliverance principally wrought by God's arm.

[h] 1 Kings xix. 33. [i] [Somers' Tracts, i. 452.] [k] [Camden, l. l.]

A. D. 1588. 31 Eliz.

pected one shall be wanting to frustrate all the rest. We will not mention (save in due distance of helps) the industry and loyalty of the lord Howard [1], (admiral,) the valour of our captains, the skill of our pilots, the activity of our ships; but assign all to the goodness of God, as queen Elizabeth did. Leave we her in the quire of Paul's church, devoutly on her knees, with the rest of her nobles in the same humble posture, returning their unfeigned thanks to the God and giver of all victory, whilst going abroad, we shall find some of her subjects worse employed in implacable enmity about ecclesiastical discipline one against another. And let not the mentioning of this deliverance be censured as a deviation from the Church History of Britain, silence thereof being a sin; for had the design took effect, neither protestant church in Britain had remained, nor history thereof been made at this present.

Scurrilous pamphlets dispersed.

17. But bullets did not fly about so much at sea, as bastardly libels by land, so fitly called because none durst father them for their issue. They are known, though not by their parents, by their names:

i. The Epitome. [Written by Penry, and printed by Waldegrave at the house of sir Richard Knightly, at Fausly, 1588.]

ii. The Demonstration of Discipline. [By Udall; printed at Mrs. Crane's house, Mowsely, by Waldegrave.]

iii. The Supplication. [Written by Penry, and printed by Waldegrave at Hale's house. Midlent, 1589.]

[1] [Charles Howard, of Effingham, afterwards earl of Nottingham. See Camden, ib.]

iv. Diotrephes. [By Udal, printed by Waldegrave, at Mrs. Crane's house, Mowsely.] A. D. 1588. 31 Eliz.

v. The Minerals. [Printed by Waldegrave, at Hale's house, Coventry, Feb. 1589.]

vi. Have You any Work for the Cooper? [Printed as above, about Palm Sunday, 1588.]

vii. Martin Mar-Prelate, Senior. [By Udal and Penry, printed at Weekston's house, by Hodgkins, Midsummer, 1588.]

viii. Martin Mar-Prelate, Junior. [By Udal and Penry, printed as above.]

ix. More Work for the Cooper, (&c.) [m]. [Printed in Newton Lane, Manchester, by Hodgkins.]

The main drift and scope of these pamphlets (for

[m] [See an account of these books in Strype's Whitgift, pp. 288, 298. Annals iii. ap. 262. Many more were published than Fuller has mentioned, but they are too numerous to be particularized within the compass of a note. A very lucid account of the controversy, and of the writers concerned in it, is given by Dr. Heylyn in his History of the Presbyterians, p. 283. The chief among them was John Penry, (afterwards condemned and put to death for a libel written against the queen,) a native of Wales, first a subsizer in Peter House, Cambridge, afterwards a commoner in St. Alban's Hall; yet so gross and coarse was the style of these pamphlets, that although many of them were seriously answered by eminent persons, (such as Dr. Cooper and Dr. Bridges,) their authors were not put to shame until they were met by the same weapons which themselves had first employed. And thus they who had made grave things ridiculous became a ridicule and a jest even among the lowest. Their most dreaded opponent in this their own way of writing was an author of some celebrity, named Thomas Nash, who, about the year 1589, put forth a pamphlet in answer to Martin Mar-Prelate, with the following bantering title: — "*Pappe with an Hatchet, alias, a Fig for my Godson; or, Crack me this Nut; or, a Country Cuff; that is, a sound Box on the Ear for the Idiot Martin to hold his peace. Written by one that dares call a dog a dog. Imprinted by John Anoke, &c.; and are to be sold at the sign of the Crab-tree Cudgel, in Thwack-coat Lane.*" See Wood's Athenæ, I. 261.]

A. D. 1588. 31 Eliz.

know one and know all—these foul-mouthed papers, like blackamoors, did all look alike) was to defame and disgrace the English prelates, scoffing at them for their garb, gait, apparel, vanities of their youth, natural defects, and personal infirmities. It is strange how secretly they were printed, how speedily dispersed, how generally bought, how greedily read, yea, and how firmly believed, especially of the common sort, to whom no better music than to hear their betters upbraided.

Their reasons for the lawfulness of such pamphlets.

18. Some precise men of that side thought these jeering pens well employed; for having formerly, as they say, tried all serious and sober means to reclaim the bishops, (which hitherto proved uneffectual,) they thought it not amiss to try this new way, that whom they could not in earnest make odious, in sport they might render ridiculous. Wits will be working, and such as have a satirical vein cannot better vent it than in lashing of sin. Besides, they wanted not a warrant, as they conceived, in holy writ, where it was no solecism to the gravity of Elijah to mock Baal's priests out of their superstition chiefly [n]. This was conceived would drive on their design, strengthen their party by working on the people's affections, which were marvellously taken with the reading thereof.

These books disclaimed by the discreet sort, and why.

19. But the more discreet and devout sort of men, even of such as were no great friends to the hierarchy, upon solemn debate then resolved, (I speak on certain knowledge, from the mouths of such whom I must believe,) that for many foul falsehoods therein suggested such books were altogether un-

[n] 1 Kings xviii. 27.

beseeming a pious spirit, to print, publish, or with pleasure peruse; which, supposed true both in matter and measure, charity would rather conceal than discover: the best of men being so conscious of their own badness, that they are more careful to wash their own faces than busy to throw dirt on others. Any man may be witty in a biting way, and those that have the dullest brains have commonly the sharpest teeth to that purpose. But such carnal mirth, whilst it tickles the flesh, doth wound the soul; and, which was the main, these base books would give a great advantage to the general foe, and papists would make too much use thereof against protestant religion, especially seeing an archangel thought himself too good to bring, and Satan not bad enough to have railing speeches brought against him [o].

A. D. 1588. 31 Eliz.

20. But, leaving private men to abound in their own sense, how highly the state (as it then stood) distasted these books, will plainly appear by the heavy censures inflicted on such as were but accessory thereunto. To pass by John Penry and John Udal, ministers accused for making some of them, (of whom in due place,) together with the printers, and Humphrey Newman, a cobbler, chief disperser of them, the Star-Chamber deeply fined sir Richard Knightly and sir [ ] Wigston for entertaining and receiving the press gentlemen, whom their adversaries allow qualified with piety, gravity, and wisdom [p]; which made many admire how their

The instruments employed in making these books heavily punished.

[o] Jude 9.

[p] Sir G. Paul in the Life of Archbishop Whitgift, §. 61. [A person named William Wygston was knighted by queen Mary at her coronation. See Strype's Mem. III. App. vii.; but I have no doubt that the person mentioned by Fuller is the same who, in the depo-

A. D. 1588. 31 Eliz.

discretion could be deluded, and more bemoan that their goodness should be abused by others, who had designs upon them. Here archbishop Whitgift bestirred himself to improve his interest with the queen, till his importunity had angered her, and till his importunity had pleased her again, that they might be delivered out of prison and eased of their fines, which upon their submission was performed [q]; whose mildness to mediate for his adversaries, as it was highly commended by some, so there wanted not those who imputed his moderation therein to declining of envy, gaining of applause, and remorse of his own conscience for over-rigorous proceedings; it being no charity to cure the wound he had caused, and solicit the remitting of those fines which he had procured to be imposed. Thus impossible it is to please froward spirits, and to make them like the best deed who dislike the doer thereof; and if any desire to know the motions and stages of the press which printed these books, know it was first set up at Moulsey, near Kingston, in Surrey[r]; thence conveyed to Fausly, in Northamptonshire; thence to Norton, and afterwards to Coventry; hence it was removed to Welstone, in Warwickshire, whence the letters were sent to another press, in or near Manchester, and there discovered by Henry [Stanley,] earl of Derby, in the printing of "More Work "for the Cooper." No wonder, then, if many errours were committed by this (call it as you please, pilgrim or vagabond) press, when itself was ever in a wandering and straggling condition.

[q] Camden's Elizabetha in anno 1588.

[r] Sir G. Paul, ib.

[illegible] taken at Lambeth, is called Roger Wrenham, Esq. Strype's An. III. App. 203.]

21. A synod of the presbyterians [s], of the Warwickshire classis, was called at Coventry, *die decimo quarti*, (that is, on the 10th of April,) wherein the questions brought the last year from the brethren of Cambridge synod were resolved in manner as followeth: [t] A. D. 1588. 31 Eliz. Acts of the synod of Coventry.

i. That private baptism is unlawful [u].

ii. That it is not lawful to read homilies in the church.

iii. That the sign of the cross is not to be used in baptism.

iv. That the faithful ought not to communicate with unlearned ministers, although they may be present at their service, if they come of purpose to hear a sermon. The reason is, because laymen as well as ministers may read public service.

v. That the calling of bishops &c. is unlawful.

vi. That as they deal in causes ecclesiastical, there

[s] [Of their proceedings at this time, see also Strype's Whitgift, p. 291.]

[t] Transcribed out of bishop Bancroft's book called England's Scottizing for Discipline by Practice, pp. 86, 87, who may seem to have had the original in Latin.

[u] [Upon this point, as it greatly affects a question lately brought much into discussion respecting the validity of baptism as ministered by dissenters, it may not be amiss to state the sentiments of bishop Sandys: "For private "baptism," he says, "to be "ministered by women, I take "neither to be prescribed nor "permitted; so have I ever "been and presently am per-"suaded that some of them be "not so expedient for this "church now, but that in the "church reformed they may "better be disused by little "and little." Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 287. The subject was again mooted at Hampton Court, when lay-baptism was defended by Bancroft, then bishop of London; and so it has been ever held by the church of England, as by the Western churches, and indeed by the Greek church in general. "Baptismus quamvis "in schismate collatus sine "sacrilegio instaurari non po-"test." Thorndike, De Jure, p. 368.]

A. D. 1588. 31 Eliz. is no duty belonging unto them, nor any publicly to be given them.

vii. That it is not lawful to be ordained by them into the ministry, or to denounce either suspensions or excommunications sent from them.

viii. That it is not lawful to rest in the bishops deprivation of any from the ministry, except (upon consultation with the neighbour ministers adjoining and his flock) it seem so good unto them; but that he continue in the same, until he be compelled to the contrary by civil force.

ix. That it is not lawful to appear in a bishop's court, but with protestation of their unlawfulness.

x. That bishops are not to be acknowledged either for doctors, elders, or deacons, as having no ordinary calling.

xi. That touching the restoration of their ecclesiastical discipline, it ought to be taught to the people, *data occasione*, as occasion should serve.

xii. That *nondum* (as yet) the people are not to be solicited *publice* (publicly) to the practice of the discipline *donec* (till) they be better instructed in the knowledge of it.

xiii. That men of better understanding are to be allured privately to the present embracing of the discipline and practice of it, as far as they shall be well able, with the peace of the church.

Likewise in the same assembly the aforesaid Book of Discipline was approved to be a "draught of discipline essential and necessary for all times;" and certain articles (devised in approbation, and for the manner of the use thereof) were brought forth,

[x] Gen. xxv. 22.

treated of, and subscribed unto, by Mr. Cartwright and others, and afterwards tendered far and near to the several classes for a general ratification of all the brethren. A.D. 1588. 31 Eliz.

22. Now if Rebecca found herself strangely affected when twins struggled in her womb [x], the condition of the English church must be conceived sad, which at the same time had two disciplines, both of them pleading scripture and primitive practice, each striving to support itself and suppress its rival. The hierarchy, commanded by authority, established by law, confirmed by general practice, and continued so long by custom in this land, that had one at this time lived the age of Methuselah he could not remember the beginning thereof in Britain. The presbytery, though wanting the stamp of authority, claiming to be the purer metal founded by some clergymen, favoured by many of the gentry, and followed by more of the common sort, who being prompted with that natural principle that the weakest side must be most watchful, what they wanted in strength they supplied in activity. But what won them most repute was their ministers' painful preaching in populous places; it being observed in England that those who hold the helm of the pulpit always steer people's hearts as they please. The worst is, that in matters of fact all relations in these times are relations: I mean much resent of party and interest, to the prejudice of truth. Let me mind the reader to reflect his eye on our quotations, the margin, in such cases, being as material as the text, as containing the authors; and his judgment may, according to the credit or reference of the author alleged, believe or abate

The English church distracted betwixt contrary disciplines.

A. D. 1588. 31 Eliz. from the reputation of the report. Let me add, that though it be a lie in the clock, it is but a falsehood in the hand of the dial, when pointing at a wrong hour, if rightly following the direction of the wheel which moveth it. And the fault is not mine, if I truly cite what is false on the credit of another. The best certainty in this kind we are capable of is, what we find in the confessions of the parties themselves, deposed on oath, taken by public notaries, and recorded in court. For such who herein will fly higher for true intelligence than the Star-Chamber, must fetch it from heaven himself.

The success of the solemn humiliation of the ministers at Northampton.

23. In that court we find confessed by one Mr. Johnson[y], (formerly a great presbyterian, but afterwards, it seems, falling from that side, he discovered many passages to their disadvantage,) how that "when the Book of Discipline came to Northamp-"ton to be subscribed unto, there was a general "censuring used amongst the brethren there, as it "were to sanctify themselves; partly by sustaining "a kind of penance and reproof for their former "conformity to the orders of the church, and partly "to prepare their minds for the devout accepting of "the foresaid book: in which course of censuring "used at that time there was such ripping up, one "of another's life, even from their youth, as that "they came unto great bitterness, with many revil-"ing terms amongst themselves, one growing there-"by odious to another, and some did thereupon "utterly forsake those kinds of assemblies." O how woful the vessel of the English church! whilst her ὑπήρεται, her ministers and under-rowers, some

[y] See England's Scottizing for Discipline, p. 88.

tugged it one way, and others towing it another, enough almost to split her in pieces with the violence of their contrary discipline. A. D. 1588. 31 Eliz.

24. Leave we them for a while, to behold how the popish clergy were employed, who in the beginning of this year were as busy as bees newly ready to swarm. A book was set forth called "The Admonition," dispersed amongst catholics, and highly cried up, consisting of several parts, not unfit to be here recited [z]: The contents of the Admonition to the catholics of England.

i. The authors make their entrance into the discourse with a most odious and shameful declamation against her majesty, stirring up her subjects' hearts to contempt of her highness, as being one odious to God and man.

They threaten the nobility, gentry, &c. with loss of all their goods, their lands, their lives, and with damnation besides; except that presently, upon the

[z] [This book, entitled "An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England," gave so great an offence to the queen, that she ordered her ambassador, Val. Dale, to expostulate with the prince of Parma, viceroy of the Low Countries for the king of Spain. Among the MSS. preserved in the library of All Souls College, Oxford, is a draught of a very full proclamation, drawn up on the expectation of the Spanish armada, but never published. Therein the queen, giving a very detailed account of her proceedings with Spain and the prince of Parma, two years before, and of her negotiations for peace, takes occasion to notice this pamphlet of cardinal Allen, of whom she speaks in extremely bitter terms, and issues very positive orders that if any of her subjects possessed a copy of the said book he should instantly send it in to the privy council, declaring it also to be treason even to possess the same. The violence, however, of the book, deprived it of all influence with the Romanists in England, if we may believe the author of the pamphlet entitled "The Copy of a Letter sent out of England," &c.; the generality of them resolving to neglect it and defend the liberty and independence of their country. See Somers' Tracts, I. 433, 435, &c. and the Harleian Miscellany, vol. I.]

A. D. 1588. 31 Eliz. landing of the Spaniards, they joined themselves, and all their forces, men, munition, victuals, and whatsoever else they could make, with their catholic army, forsooth, for the words be these: "If you "will avoid," say they, "the pope's, the king's, and "other princes' high indignation, let no man, of "what degree soever, abet, aid, defend, or acknow- "ledge her," &c.; adding, that "otherwise they "should incur the angel's curse and malediction, "and be as deeply excommunicated as any; because "that in taking her majesty's part they should fight "against God, against their lawful king, against "their country; and that, notwithstanding all they "should do, they should but defend her highness "bootless, to their own present destruction and "eternal shame."

ii. After all those and many other such threats, in a high and military style, to scare fools with, then they come to some more mild persuasions, and promise the noblemen, that so they join with the duke of Parma upon the receipt of their Admonition, they will entreat that their whole houses shall not perish. For Parsons did instigate the English cardinal to swear by his honour, and in the word of a cardinal, that in the fury of their intended massacre there should as great care be taken of every catholic and penitent person as possibly could be, and that he was made a cardinal of purpose to be sent then into England for the sweet managing of those affairs.

iii. Other arguments they used, drawn from the certainty of the victory: as that all the protestants would either turn their coats, copies, arms, or fly away, in fear and torment of the angel of God prosecuting them; that although none of her majesty's

subjects should assist the Spaniards, yet their own forces which they brought with them were strong enough, their provision sufficient, their appointment so surpassing that they had more expert captains than her majesty had good soldiers, all resolute to be in the cause, which they had undertaken; that the blood of all the blessed bishops shed in this land, and all the saints in heaven, prayed for the Spaniards' victory; that all the virtuous priests of our country, both at home and abroad, had stretched forth their sacred hands to the same end; that many priests were in the camp, to serve every spiritual man's necessity; that their forces were guarded with all God's holy angels, with Christ himself in the sovereign sacrament, and with the daily most holy oblation of Christ's own dear body and blood; that the Spaniards being thus assisted with so many helps, though they had been never so few, they could not lose; and that her majesty and her assistants, wanting these helps, although they were never so fierce, never so proud, never so many, never so well appointed, yet they could not prevail. "Fear "you not," say they to such as would take their part—"they cannot." And thus far out of their said Jesuitical Admonition [a]. A. D. 1588. 31 Eliz.

[a] [The remarks of Watson upon this book are subjoined: "It cannot be denied but that, "in the year 1588, cardinal "Allen compiled a booke, at "the importunate suite of "father Parsons, impudently "urging his grace thereto, to "have been published when "the Spaniards should have "arrived, for the same intent "premised in the article;"— (Watson's book is written with articles and answers, and he here refers to the sixth article of his own book,) "the first "part of which booke was in- "tituled *A Declaration of the* "*Sentence, &c.*; the second, "*An Admonition to the Nobili-* "*tie and People of England,* "*&c.* Of these books a great "number were printed; but "presently upon the over- "throw of the great invincible "armado, under their heroical

A.D. 1588. 31 Eliz.

The book goes under the name of cardinal Allen, though the secular priests say he was but the cloak-father thereof, and that Parsons the Jesuit made it [b]. Others conceive it equivocally begotten, as the result and extract of several brains. No doubt, had the Spanish invasion succeeded, happy he who could have laid claim to so prophetical a piece; and they would have fallen out as the two harlots about the living child, who should have been parent thereof [c]. Whereas now, on the miscarriage of their great navy, all disclaimed the book; and Parsons procured the whole impression to be burnt, (save some few, sent abroad beforehand to his friends [d],) that it might not remain a monument of their falsehood. And now the popish priests, some lurked here in holes, other fled into foreign parts, their confusion being the greater for their former confidence. Thus Sisera comes off the more coldly, when stripped out

" Adlantado, father Parsons, " for shame of the world, and " to the end that it should not " be known how the expecta- " tion of the false prophet was " frustrate, procured the whole " impression to be burnt, sav- " ing some few that had been " sent abroad beforehand to " his friends, and such as had " otherwise been conveyed " away by the printer and " others in secret-wise; some " whereof, ferrying over the " main, were wafted into the " South Ocean shores." Then, in a note to the margin of his book, he observes, "There was " never honest man, as I think, " that penned such a treatise " as this book here mentioned " to have gone under the good " cardinal's name, who sure " would never have put his " name to it (as he did not) " but by the vehement urging " of this Machiavellian Jesuit's " persuasion, which full sore " repented him afterwarde; " insomuch that when he heard " and well perceived what they " went about, for destroying " and ruinating of his native " country, he wept tenderly, " not knowing how to remedy " it, nor much less how to " bridle the Jesuitical inso- " lencie." Dodd also, in his Church History, disclaims cardinal Allen's authorship of this book, II. p. 54.]

[b] Watson's Quodlibets, pag. 240.

[c] 1 Kings iii.

[d] Watson ut prius.

of the garment of *divers colours*[e] wherewith his mother had arrayed him, in her fancy running faster than the wheels of her son's chariot to his imaginary conquest. A. D. 1588. 31 Eliz.

25. This year died Edwin Sands[f], archbishop of York, born in Lancashire of worshipful parentage, bred in Cambridge, banished to Germany; after this promoted to be bishop of Worcester, then succeeded Grindal in London and York, an excellent and painful preacher, and of a pious and godly life, which increased in his old age; so that by a great and good stride, whilst he had one foot in the grave, he had the other in heaven. He was buried in Southwell; and it is hard to say whether he was more eminent in his own virtues, or more happy in his flourishing posterity[g]. The death of Edwin Sands, archbishop of York.

26. The next year produced not any great church matters in itself, but was only preparatory to the ripening of business and raising the charges against the principal patrons of nonconformity. Indeed archbishop Whitgift, according to his constant custom and manner, repaired daily to the council-table early in the morning, and after an usual apprecation of a "good-morrow" to the lords, he requested to know if there were any church business to be debated; and if the answer were returned in the affirmative, he stayed and attended the issue of the matter; but if no such matter appeared, he craved leave to be dispensed withal, saying, "Then, my "lords, here is no need of me," and departed;—a Archbishop Whitgift his discretion.

e Judg. v. 30.

f [July 10, 1588.]

g [See some account of him in Strype's Whitgift, p. 286, who has printed his epitaph in the Appendix. Clarke, the puritan, has also inserted a life of this bishop in his Martyrology. See Lives of Thirty-two English Divines, &c. p. 6.]

A. D. 1588. 31 Eliz. commendable practice, clearing himself from all aspersions of civil pragmaticalness, and tending much to the just support of his reputation.

Articles objected against Mr. Thomas Cartwright.

27. On the first of September Mr. Cartwright, bachelor in divinity, was brought before her majesty's commissioners, there to take his oath, and give in his positive answer to the following articles [h]:

i. "*Imprimis*, We do object and articulate against "him, that he, being a minister, (at least a deacon,) "lawfully called according to the godly laws and "orders of this church of England, hath forsaken, "abandoned, and renounced the same orders eccle- "siastical, as an Antichristian and unlawful manner "of calling unto the ministry or deaconship.

ii. "*Item*, That he, departing this realm into "foreign parts without license, as a man discon- "tented with the form of government ecclesiastical "here by law established, the more to testify his

[h] The copy of these articles was found by a friend in Mr. Travers his study after his death, who as kindly communicated as I have truly transcribed them. [Upon this paper Strype remarks, "I forbear to "set down the rest of the "articles, being very correctly "transcribed in Dr. Fuller's "Church History, (from a copy "of them found in Travers's "study, and communicated to "that author,) as I have found "by comparing them in his "printed book with the arch- "bishop's MS., an original of "them: only in article the "fourth, in the archbishop's "MS., the name *Axton* is "miswrit *Acton* in the tran- "script; and at article the "thirteenth, the last clause "there is made a new article "in the said MS., being set in "the margin thus: '14. *Item*, "that he, in a lecture at Co- "ventry, in Mr. Fen's place, "upon Psalm cxxii., where "there is mention of *thrones*, "laboured to teach the doc- "trine of the presbyteries: "and urging the discipline, he "affirmed the want thereof to "be the cause why some for- "sook our church, and that "enemies and papists would "not come near her.'" Life of Whitgift, p. 337. Oxf. 8vo edit. vol. ii. p. 24.]

" dislike and contempt thereof, and of the manner A. D. 1588.
" of his former vocation and ordination, was con- 31 Eliz.
" tented in foreign parts (as at Antwerp, Middel-
" burgh, or elsewhere) to have a new vocation,
" election, or ordination, by imposition of hands
" unto the ministry, or unto some other order or
" degree ecclesiastical, and in other manner and
" form than the laws ecclesiastical of this realm do
" prescribe. Let him declare upon his oath the
" particular circumstances thereof.

iii. " *Item*, That by virtue or colour of such his
" later vocation, election, or ordination, becoming a
" pretended bishop or pastor of such congregation
" as made choice of him, he established, or procured
" to be established, at Antwerp and at Middelburgh,
" among merchants and others her majesty's sub-
" jects, a certain consistory, seminary, presbytery, or
" eldership ecclesiastical; consisting of himself, (being
" bishop or pastor, and so president thereof,) of a
" doctor, of certain ancients, seniors, or elders for
" government ecclesiastical, and of deacons for dis-
" tributing to the poor.

iv. " *Item*, That the said eldership, and the autho-
" rity thereof, certain English-born subjects were
" called, elected, or ordained by imposition of hands
" to be ministers or ecclesiastical doctors, (being not
" of that degree before,) as Hart, Travers, Grise, or
" some of them; and some that were also ministers
" afore, according to the orders of the church of
" England, (as Fenner, Acton,) were so called; and
" other English subjects were also called, and like-
" wise ordained elders; and some others were or-
" dained deacons, in other manner and form than

A. D. 1588. 31 Eliz. "the laws ecclesiastical of the realm do prescribe "or allow of.

v. "*Item*, That such eldership so established, "under the presidentship of him the said Thomas "Cartwright, had used (besides this authority of "this vocation, and ordination of officers ecclesias- "tical) the censures and keys of the church, as "public admonition, suspension from the supper, "and from execution of offices ecclesiastical, and "the censures of excommunication; likewise autho- "rity of making laws, decrees, and orders ecclesias- "tical, and of dealing with the doctrine and man- "ners of all persons in that congregation, in all "matters whatsoever, so far as might appertain to "conscience.

vi. "*Item*, That he, the said Thomas Cartwright, "in the public administration of his ministry there "among her majesty's subjects, used not the form "of liturgy or Book of Common Prayer by the "laws of this land established, nor in his govern- "ment ecclesiastical the laws and orders of this "land, but rather conformed himself in both to the "use and form of some other foreign churches.

vii. "*Item*, That since his last return from beyond "the seas, being to be placed at Warwick, he faith- "fully promised, if he might be but tolerated to "preach, not to impugn the laws, orders, policy, "government, nor governors in this church of Eng- "land, but to persuade and procure, so much as he "could, both publicly and privately, the estimation "and peace of this church.

viii. "*Item*, That he, having no ministry in this "church, (other than such as before he had forsaken,

" and still condemneth as unlawful,) and without A. D. 1588.
" any license, as law requireth, he hath since taken 31 Eliz.
" upon him to preach at Warwick, and at sundry
" other places of this realm.

ix. " *Item*, That since his said return, in sundry
" private conferences with such ministers and others
" as at sundry times by word and letter have asked
" his advice or opinion, he hath shewed mislike of
" the laws and government ecclesiastical, and of
" divers parts of the liturgy of this church; and
" thereby persuaded, and prevailed also with many
" in sundry points, to break the orders and form of
" the Book of Common Prayer, who observed them
" before, and also to oppose themselves to the go-
" vernment of this church, as himself well knoweth
" or verily believeth.

x. " *Item*, That in all or most of such his sermons
" and exercises he hath taken occasion to traduce
" and inveigh against the bishops, and other go-
" vernors under them, in this church.

xi. " *Item*, That he hath grown so far in hatred
" and dislike towards them, as that at sundry times,
" in his prayer at sermons, and namely, preaching at
" Banbury about a year since, in such place as others
" well disposed pray for bishops, he prayed to this
" or like effect: ' Because that they, which ought to
" be pillars in the church, do bend themselves
" against Christ and his truth, therefore, O Lord,
" give us grace and power, all as one man, to set
" ourselves against them.' And this in effect, by
" way of emphasis, he then also repeated.

xii. " *Item*, That preaching at sundry times and
" places, he usually reacheth at all occasions to
" deprave, condemn, and impugn the manner of

A.D. 1588. 31 Eliz. "ordination of bishops, ministers, and deacons; sun-
"dry points of the polity, government, laws, orders,
"and rites ecclesiastical, and of the public liturgy
"of the church of England, contained in the Book
"of Common Prayer; as namely, the use of the
"surplice, the interrogatories to godfathers, &c. in
"the name of the infants, the cross in baptism, the
"ring in marriage, the thanksgiving after child-
"birth, burials by ministers, the kneeling at com-
"munion, some points of the litany, certain collects
"and prayers, the reading of portions of scripture
"for the epistle and gospel, and the manner of
"singing in cathedral churches and others.

xiii. "*Item*, That preaching at the baptizing of
"one of Job Throgmorton's children, he spoke much
"of the unlawfulness, and in derogation of the
"government, polity, laws, and liturgy ecclesiastical
"of this realm; and to the justification of a govern-
"ment by elderships in every congregation, and by
"conference and synods &c. abroad, as divine insti-
"tutions commanded by Christ, and the only lawful
"church government; seeking to prove and esta-
"blish such elderships out of that word in one of
"the Psalms, where thrones are mentioned [i].

[i] [Travers and Cartwright were the first who, following Beza, made the presbyterian platform a third note of the church, "*as necessary a note "as either the word or sacra-"ments*," T. C. Second Reply, p. 53. And as men, when once they leave the pale of the church, are never certain how far they shall be carried along by the current of their folly, so was it with them. They and their followers shortly after began to assert that "without this "discipline there can be no "true religion," (Register, p. 68;) that "they that reject "this discipline refuse to have "Christ reign over them, and "deny Him, in effect, to be "their King or their Lord." T. C. I. 220, and Table Pref. to Demon. See §. XXV.]

xiv. "*Item*, That, by toleration and impunity, he did A.D. 1588. 31 Eliz.
"grow so confident, and withal implacable against
"the laws, government, and orders of this church
"of England, that he could not endure Mr. Bourd-
"man and others (preaching sundry times at War-
"wick) to speak in defence thereof, but took upon
"him to confute, in sundry sermons there, these
"things which the said Bourdman had truly and
"dutifully in that behalf spoken and delivered.

xv. "*Item*, That in his sermons at Warwick and
"elsewhere, within the said time, he often delivered
"many frivolous, strange, and undiscreet positions:
"as namely, that to kneel down and pray when a
"man comes into the church, or pray there pri-
"vately, was but to offer the sacrifice of fools; that
"it was requisite all the hearers that were able
"should stand upon their feet during sermons; and,
"discoursing about women and their childbirth, &c.,
"did speak thereof so indiscreetly and offensively,
"that sundry of them in great grief had conspired
"to have mischieved him with stones in the open
"streets.

xvi. "*Item*, That by his persuasions, privately and
"publicly delivered, sundry persons in and about
"Warwick were appointed to impugn, both in
"words and deeds, the laws, orders, and rites
"prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer; inso-
"much as both his own wife, by his procurement
"and consent, refused after childbirth to come and
"give thanks in such place of the church, and in
"that solemn manner, as thereby is prescribed; and
"some other women also of that town, by such per-
"suasion and example, did use the like contempt.

xvii. "*Item*, That sundry times, or at least once,

A. D. 1588. 31 Eliz. "when he communicated at the Lord's Supper "there, he sat, or stood upon his feet; and divers "others, induced by his persuasions and example, "both then and at other times did the like; and "that at other times there, or in other places where "he hath communicated, both himself and others "(as he had appointed or persuaded afore) did walk "along, and receive the sacrament of the minister "as they passed by him.

xviii. "*Item*, That for these and such-like disorders "he was presented to the bishop of Wigorne, his "ordinary; before whom, being convented in the "consistory there, he spake to the justification and "upholding of such doing of his, and of others; and "there very publicly and offensively affirmed and "disputed, 'That the Book of Common Prayer, &c. "is not established by law.'

xix. "*Item*, That when by authority from the said "bishop, for his contempt he was suspended from "preaching, *et ab omni functione ministerii*, he "appealed from the said suspension, yet did not "prosecute within a year after, whereby (the cause "being, according to law, remitted again to the "bishop) he the said Thomas Cartwright, according "to the former proceedings, falling again into the "sentence of suspension, (which was also intimated "and made known unto him,) nevertheless, in con-"tempt of the authority ecclesiastical, he hath "preached at Warwick, Coventry, and elsewhere "since the said time.

xx. "*Item*, When one of his men-servants had "committed fornication, and gotten a bastard in "his house, he, taking upon him the authority of "the ordinary, did appoint unto the delinquent a

" public form of penance or satisfaction, in St. A. D. 1588.
" Mary's Church at Warwick, and caused him to 31 Eliz.
" perform the same.

xxi. "*Item*, Since his placing at Warwick, he, " with others, (at such times as they thought fit,) " have agreed to have, and so have had, divers " public fasts, without the queen her authority, and " have invited and persuaded both sundry persons " to be there present, and also certain to preach, to " the number of three, four, or five, successively one " after another, being all noted to be such as mis- " like and impugn sundry points of the laws, govern- " ment, and liturgy ecclesiastical of this church of " England; in which sermons both he the said Cart- " wright, and such others also as then preached, did " impugn and inveigh against the present laws, " government, polity, and liturgy ecclesiastical of " this church of England.

xxii. "*Item*, That from time to time, since his " abode in Warwick, by his practice and dealing, he " hath nourished a faction and heart-burning of one " inhabitant there against another, severing them in " his own and his followers' speeches, by the names " of 'the godly,' or 'brethren favouring sincerity,' " and 'the profane.'

xxiii. "*Item*, That he doth know, or credibly " heard, who were the penners, printers, or some of " the dispersers of the several libels, going under " the name of 'Martin Mar-Prelate,' of 'The De- " monstration of Discipline,' of 'Diotrephes,' and " such-like books, before it was known to authority; " and yet, in favour of such and contempt of good " laws, did not manifest the same to any who had " authority to punish it.

A. D. 1588. 31 Eliz.

xxiv. "*Item*, That being asked his opinion of such "books, he answered thus in effect, or something "tending this way, viz. (meaning the bishops and "others there touched) would not amend by grave "books and advertisements, and therefore it was "meet they should thus be dealt with, to their "further reproach and shame.

xxv. "*Item*, That for and in the behalf of the "church of England, he penned, or procured to be "penned, all or some part of a little book, intituled "in one part *Disciplina Ecclesiæ sacra Verbo Dei* "*descripta*, and in the other part *Disciplina Sy-* "*nodica ex Ecclesiarum usu*, &c.; and after it was "perused by others, whom he first acquainted there- "with, he recommended the same to the censures "and judgments of moe brethren (being learned "preachers) and some others, assembled together "by his means for that and other like purposes; "which, after deliberation and some alterations, was "by them or most of them allowed as the only "lawful church government, and fit to be put in "practice; and the ways and means for the prac- "tising thereof in this realm were also then, or "not long after, agreed or concluded upon by "them.

xxvi. "*Item*, That for the better and more due "practice of it within the space of these seven, six, "five, four, three, two, or one year last past, the "said Thomas Cartwright and sundry others (as "aforesaid, according to former appointment and "determinations by them made) have met in assem- "blies termed synods, more general (as at London "at terms and parliament times, in Oxford at the "act, in Cambridge at the times of commencement,

" and Stourbridge fair) and also more particular and A.D. 1590.
" provincial synods, and at classes or conferences 33 Eliz.
" of certain selected ministers, in one or moe places
" of sundry several shires; as Warwick, Northamp-
" ton, Rutland, Oxford, Leicester, Cambridge, Nor-
" folk, Suffolk, Essex, and others.

xxvii. " *Item*, That at such synods and confer-
" ences it hath been concluded, that all the minis-
" ters which should be received to be either of the
" said general synods, or of any more particular and
" provincial, or of a classis or conference, should
" subscribe to the said discipline, that they did
" allow it, would promote it, practise it, and be
" governed by it. And according to the form of
" a schedule hereunto annexed, or such like, both
" he the said Thomas Cartwright and many others,
" at sundry or some general assemblies, as at pro-
" vincial and at several conferences, have within the
" said time subscribed the same, or some part
" thereof.

xxviii. " *Item*, That at such synods and all other
" assemblies a moderator of that meeting was first
" by him and them chosen, according to the pre-
" scription of the said book; and at some of such
" meetings and assemblies, amongst other things, it
" was resolved and concluded, that such particular
" conferences in several shires should be erected;
" how many persons, and with what letters from
" every of them, should be sent to the general
" assembly; and that one of them, at their coming
" home to their conference, should make known the
" determinations of the general assembly, to be by
" every of them followed and put in practice; which
" course in sundry places of this realm hath, within

A. D. 1590. 33 Eliz. "the time aforesaid, been accordingly followed and "performed.

xxix. "*Item*, That he, with others, in some such "classis or conference, or in a synod or more general "assembly holden, did treat and dispute, among "other points, these six Articles contained in an- "other schedule annexed, and set down their reso- "lution and determination of them.

xxx. "*Item*, That he, with others assembled in "such a general assembly or synod at Cambridge, "did conclude and decree, (as in another schedule "annexed, or in some part thereof is contained,) "which decrees were made known afterwards at "Warwick to sundry classes there by his means "assembled, and allowed also by them then met "together in the same or like form.

xxxi. "*Item*, That all such several meetings, "synods, and conferences, within the said time, "many other determinations, as well what should "be done and performed, or omitted, as also what "should be holden consonant to God's word, or "disagreeing from it, have been set down by the "said Thomas Cartwright and others: as namely, "that all admitted to either assembly should sub- "scribe the said book of discipline, holy and synod- "ical; that those who were sent from any con- "ference to a synod should bring letters fiduciary, "or credence; that the last moderator should write "them; that the superscription thereof should be "to a known man of the assembly then to be "holden; that no book made by any of them should "be put in print, but by consent of the classis at "least; that some of them must be earnest, and "some more mild and temperate, whereby there

" may be both of the spirit of Elias and Elizeus; A.D. 1590. 33 Eliz.
" that all admitted amongst them should subscribe
" and promise to conform themselves in their pro-
" ceedings, administration of sacraments, and of
" discipline, to the form of that book; and that
" they would subject themselves to the censuring
" of the brethren, both for doctrine and life; and
" lastly, that upon occasion when any of their
" brethren shall be sent by them upon affairs of
" the church, (as to the great meetings, parliament,
" &c.) they all would bear their charges in common;
" that there might be no superiority amongst them,
" and that the moderatorship (as it happened) is not
" a superiority or honour, but a burden; that no
" profane writer, or any other than canonical scrip-
" ture, may be alleged in sermons; that they should
" all teach that the ministry of those who did not
" preach is no ministry, but a mere nullity; that it
" is not lawful to take any oath, whereby a man
" may be driven to discover any thing penal to
" himself or to his brother, especially if he be per-
" suaded the matter to be lawful for which the
" punishment is like to be inflicted; or having
" taken it in this case, need not discover the very
" truth; that to a bishop or other officer ecclesias-
" tical (as is used now in the church of England)
" none obedience ought to be given, neither in
" appearing before them, in doing that which they
" command, nor in abstaining from that which they
" inhibit; that in such places as the most of the
" people favoured the cause of sincerity, eldership
" should warily and wisely be placed and esta-
" blished, which consistory in some places hath been
" either wholly or in part erected accordingly—yea,

A. D. 1590. 33 Eliz. "in some colleges in the university, as he knoweth, "hath heard, or verily believeth."

These Articles were tendered to Mr. Cartwright in the consistory of Paul's, before John Aylmer, bishop of London, the two lord chief justices, justice Gawdy, sergeant Puckering, (afterwards lord keeper,) and attorney-general Popham.

Mr. Cartwright refuseth to answer on oath.

28. These commissioners did not move him to give in his answer, the rather because the chief points in the interrogatories were delivered in general terms unto him; and they severally assured him on their credits that by the laws of the realm he was to take his oath, and to answer as he was required [k]. But Mr. Cartwright desired to be borne withal, pleading that he thought he was not bound by the laws of God so to do. Hereupon he was sent to the rest of his brethren to the Fleet, where he secretly and silently took up his lodging; many admiring at the panic peaceableness, and so quiet a calm, where so violent a tempest was feared to arise [l].

Wigington his riddling words.

29. Some soon after expected the appearance of the presbyterian party, accounting it more valour to free than to keep their friends from prison; the rather because of a passage in a letter of Mr. Wigington's to one Mr. Porter, at Lancaster:

"Mr. Cartwright is in the Fleet, for the refusal

[k] [See Cartwright's letters during his imprisonment, in Strype's Annals, IV. p. 48, sq.; and the reasons urged by the puritans against taking the oath just mentioned, ib. p. 86. No stronger evidence of their dishonesty and prevarication needs be given than what is betrayed by their own statements.]

[l] [Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, p. 94.]

" of the oath, as I hear; and Mr. Knewstubs is sent A. D. 1590. 33 Eliz.
" for, and sundry worthy ministers are disquieted,
" who have been spared long: so that we look for
" some bickering ere long, and then a battle, which
" cannot long endure [m]."

Words variously expounded, as men's fancies directed them. Some conceived that this bickering and battle did barely import a passive conflict, wherein their patience was to encounter the power of their adversaries, and to conquer by suffering: parallel to the apostle's words, *Without were fightings* [n], meaning combats to wrestle with in many difficulties opposing their proceedings. Others expounded the words literally, not of a tame but wild battle, and of some intended violence, as if shortly they would muster their hitherto invisible forces to storm the fleet, and rescue their friends therein. A third sort beheld Wigington, the writer of these words, as one but of the soberer sort of distracted men; and therefore in vain do staid heads make serious comments on light men's random expressions, where the knot is neither to be untied nor cut, but cast away.

30. Now the principal pillars of the presbyterian party, being some in restraint, more in trouble, all in fear, applied themselves by their secret solicitors to James king of Scotland, and procured his letter to the queen in their behalf, seconded with another to the same effect. They conceived so potent a petitioner must needs prevail, especially in this juncture of time, the queen having lately (since she

The king of Scots writes in favour of the nonconformists.

[m] [Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, p. 142.]
[n] 2 Cor. vii. 5.

A.D. 1591. 34 Eliz. put his mother to death) adulced him with fair language and kind carriage. This letter was sent to one Mr. Johnson, a Scotch merchant in London, by him presented to the queen, perused by her majesty, and remitted to her privy council. But behold the tenor thereof:

" Right excellent, high, and mighty Princess, our " dearest Sister and Cousin, in our heartiest manner " we recommend us unto you. Hearing of the " apprehension of Mr. Udall and Mr. Cartwright, " and certain ministers of the evangel within your " realm, of whose good erudition and faithful travels " in the church we hear a very credible commenda- " tion, howsoever that their diversity from the " bishops and others of your clergy, in matters " touching them in conscience, hath been a mean " by their dilation to work them your misliking; " at this present we cannot (weighing the duty " which we owe to such as are afflicted for their " conscience in that profession) but by our most " effectuous and earnest letter interpone us at your " hands to stay any harder usage of them for that " cause; requesting you most earnestly that for our " cause and intercession it may please you to let " them be relieved of their present strait, and what- " soever further accusation or pursuit depending on " that ground, respecting both their former merit " in setting forth the evangel, the simplicity of their " conscience in this defence which cannot well be " their let by compulsion, and the great slander " which could not fail to fall out upon their further " straiting for any such occasion: which we assure " us your zeal to religion, besides the expectation

"we have of your good-will to pleasure us, will A.D. 1591. 34 Eliz.
"willingly accord to our request; having such
"proofs, from time to time, of our like disposition
"to you in any matters which you recommend unto
"us. And thus, right excellent, right high and
"mighty Princess, our dear Sister and Cousin, we
"commit you to God's protection.

"Edinburgh, June 12, 1591."

This letter prevailed little with the queen, nor do I find that the king of Scotland was discontented thereat; princes politicly understanding their mutual secret language, (not to say silent signs,) whose desires to foreign princes for private persons carry this tacit reservation, if it may stand with the conveniency and pleasure of him to whom it is written. Besides, they know by their own experience that often there is the least of themselves in their own letters, as granted merely for quietness' sake, to satisfy the importunity of others.

Mr. Cartwright discharged the Star-Chamber by the intercession of archbishop Whitgift.

31. One word from archbishop Whitgift befriended Mr. Cartwright more than both the letters from the king of Scotland. This prelate, reflecting on his abilities and their ancient acquaintance in Trinity College, and remembering (as an honourable adversary) they had brandished pens one against another, and considering that both of them now were well stricken in years, and, some will say, fearing the success in so tough a conflict, on Mr. Cartwright's general promise to be quiet, procured his dismission out of the Star-Chamber and prison wherein he was confined.[nn] Henceforward Mr. Cartwright became

[nn] [He retired to a private living at Warwick; "and lived quietly and grew rich," says Isaac Walton; Life of Hooker,

A.D. 1591. 34 Eliz. very peaceable, not that he began to desert the cause, but the cause him; the original state of the point of nonconformity being much altered and disguised from itself, and many state businesses, (which Mr. Cartwright disclaimed,) by turbulent spirits shuffled into it.

A preface to the ensuing discourse.

32. Next followeth the just death of Hacket, for his damnable blasphemy; and I am sensible of a sad dilemma concerning the same [o]: for not relating the story will be interpreted favouring of him, and wronging the truth; relating it may be accounted gracing his impieties by recording them. And seeing it is hard for one soul to attend two things at once, some will say no author can write and detest, nor reader peruse and detest, these his blasphemies so at the same instant, but that there will be a short interval betwixt them, yet long enough to have piety wounded therein. However, arming ourselves and others with caution premised, we enter on this sorrowful subject, the rather because the best may be bettered by the worst of men, when considering that natural corruption in their hearts is not less headstrong, but more bridled. Think not that

p. 210. Then he was more fortunate than most men, for he had grown rich by agitation already. See Sutcliffe, on Ecclesiastical Discipline, Pref. He died in 1602.]

[o] [For a full history of Hacket's impieties, see a tract entitled, "Conspiracy for pretended Reformation; viz. Presbyterial Discipline: a Treatise discovering the late Designments and Courses held for Advancement thereof by William Hacket, yeoman, Edmund Coppinger, and Henry Arthington, gent., out of others depositions, and their own letters, writings, and confessions, upon examination, &c. Written by Richard Cosin, LL.D., Dean of the Arches, and Official Principal to Archbishop Whitgift. Published by authority, 1592. Reprinted at London, 1699."]

Hacket and his two companions were worse by nature than all others of the English nation. I tell you nay, for if God's restraining grace be taken from us, we shall all run unto the same excess of riot. A.D. 1591. 34 Eliz.

33. This William Hacket was born in Oundle in Northamptonshire; of so cruel and fierce a nature, that he is reported to have bit off and eat down the nose of his schoolmaster; a maltster by trade, which calling being too narrow for his active soul, he undertook to be a discoverer of and informer against recusants, an employment which often procured his admittance into the presence of great persons when his betters were excluded; one of a bold and confident nature, who, though but an invited guest where many clergymen were present, would always presume to say grace and pray before them; a great stickler for the Geneva discipline, being very great with Wigington and other the most violent of that faction, always inculcating that some extraordinary course must be presently taken with the obstructers thereof. Once he desperately took his dagger, and violently struck the same into the picture of the queen, aiming at her heart therein by proportion. He pretended also to revelations, immediate raptures and discourses with God, as also to buffetings of Satan, attesting the truth thereof with most direful oaths and execrations. The character of Hacket.

34. One argument Hacket used to allege, to prove his own invulnerability—because he proffered leave to any one to kill him that would; the cunning impostor knowing full well that it was death for any to do it, being secured from such violence, not by any secret quality in himself, but by the good His monstrous opinions and practices.

A.D. 1591. 34 Eliz. laws of the queen, against whom he so bitterly inveighed. He railed also against the archbishop Whitgift and chancellor Hatton, with other of the privy counsellors, pretending himself sent from heaven to reform church and state, and bring in a new discipline into both by extraordinary means.

Proclaimed by his two prophets.

35. Afterwards he gave it out that the principal spirit of the Messias rested in him, and had two attendants—Edmund Coppinger (the queen's servant, and one of good descent) for his prophet of mercy, and Henry Arthington (a Yorkshire gentleman) for his prophet of judgment [p]. These proclaimed out of a cart in Cheapside that Christ was come in Hacket, with his fan in his hand, to purge the godly from the wicked, with many other precedent, concomitant, and consequent impieties; for who can otherwise conceive but such a prince-principal of darkness must be proportionably attended with a black guard of monstrous opinions and expressions? They cried also, "Repent, England,

[p] [According to Stow, these two persons offered to anoint Hacket, as king; but he, taking Coppinger by the hand, said to him, "You shall not "need to anoint me, for I "have been already anointed "in heaven by the Holy Ghost "himself!" Then Coppinger asked him what his pleasure was to be done. "Go your "way, both," quoth he, "and "tell them in the city that "Christ Jesus is come with "his fan in his hand to judge "the earth; and if any man "ask you where he is, tell him "he lies at Walker's house, "by Broken Wharf," (where Hacket then resided;) "and if "they will not believe it, let "them come and kill me if "they can; for as truly as "Christ Jesus is in heaven, so "truly is he come to judge "the world." Then Coppinger said it should be done forthwith, and therefore went forward, and Arthington followed; but ere he could get down the stairs, Coppinger had begun below in the house to proclaim news from heaven of exceeding great mercy,—that Christ Jesus was come! Chron. 761.]

"repent!"—good counsel for all that heard, but best for them that gave it. With much ado (such the press of people) they got home to Broken Wharf, where Hacket lay, and next day all three were sent to Bridewell, though some conceived Bedlam the more proper place for them; and some days after, Hacket being solemnly arraigned before the judges at Westminster, demeaned himself very scornfully, but was found guilty on a double indictment, and condemned. A. D. 1591. 34 Eliz.

36. During his imprisonment in Bridewell, one Dr. Childerly, rector of St. Dunstan's in the East, repaired unto him, and proffered to gripe arms with him, and try the wrists, which Hacket unwillingly submitted to do, though otherwise boasting himself invulnerable and impenetrable. The doctor, though with some difficulty, (Hacket being a foul, strong lubber,) yet fairly twisted his wrists almost to the breaking thereof, but not to the bowing of him to any confession or remorse; whilst the other presently hasteth home to his house, locked himself up in his study, and with fasting and prayer begged pardon of God for his pride and boldness, that having neither promised precept or precedent for his practice in scripture, he should adventure on such a trial, wherein justly he might have been worsted for his presumption; and discreet men will more commend the relenting tenderness of his heart, than the sleight and strength of his hands [q]. An adventure with more boldness than discretion.

37. Hacket was brought to the gibbet near to the cross in Cheapside, and there belched forth most Hacket's execution.

[q] [He was a person of some eminence; living, unfortunately, long enough to be sequestered by the Long Parliament. See Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 510. Wood's Fast. I. 165.]

A. D. 1591. 34 Eliz. blasphemous execrations, till the halter stopped his breath. I know what one lawyer pleadeth in his behalf, though it be little credit to be the advocate of such a client,—"that the bishops had made him "mad with persecuting of him." Sure it was, if he were mad, not any learning, but over-much pride made him so; and sure it is, he discovered no distemper in other particulars, personating at least-wise, if not performing, all things with a composed gravity. But there is a madness which physicians count most uncurable, and call it *modesta insania*, when one is mad as to one particular point alone, whilst serious and sober in all other things. Whether Hacket were not touched with this or no, I will not decide, but leave him, to stand or fall, to his own master. Coppinger died in Bridewell, starving himself, as it is said, by wilful abstinence. Arthington (the prophet of judgment) lived to prove the object of God's and the queen's mercy, and printed a plain book of his hearty repentance; happy herein, that he met with a general belief of his serious sorrow and sincere amendment.

This accident unhappily improved against him the nonconformists.

38. This business of Hacket happened very unseasonably for the presbyterians. True it is, they as cordially detested his blasphemies as any of the episcopal party; and such of them as loved Hacket the nonconformist, abhorred Hacket the heretic, after he had mounted to so high a pitch of impiety. But (besides the glutinous nature of all aspersions to stick where they light) they could not wash his odium so fast from themselves, but their adversaries were as ready to rub it on again. This rendered them at this time so hated at court, that for many months together no favourite durst present a peti-

tion in their behalf to the queen, being loth to lose himself to save others, so offended was her majesty against them. A. D. 1591. 34 Eliz.

39. The same day wherein Hacket was executed, Thomas Stone, parson of Warkton in Northamptonshire, (by virtue of an oath tendered him the day before by the queen's attorney, and solemnly taken by him,) was examined by the examiner for the Star-Chamber in Gray's Inn, from six of the clock in the morning till seven at night, to answer unto thirty-three Articles, but could only effectually depose to these which follow, faithfully by me transcribed out of a confession written with his own hand, and lately in my possession. Mr. Stone, by his confession, discovereth the meeting of the brethren, with the circumstances thereof.

1*st Interrog.*—Who and how many assembled and met together with the said defendants, T. C., H. E., E. S., &c., all or any of them, where, when, how often, &c.?

The *Answer* of T. S. to the *Interrog.* touching the circumstances of

I. Places of Meeting.

i. *Greater.*

i. In London: 1. Travers's house; 2. Egerton's; 3. Gardener's; 4. Barber's.

ii. In Cambridge, St. John's College.

ii. *Less.*

i. In Northampton: 1. Johnson's house; Snape's.

ii. In Kettering, or near it: 1. Damme's house; 2. Stone's.

II. Times.

1. Since the beginning of the last parliament. 2. Sundry times at London, how oft he remembered not. 3. Sundry times at Northampton, how oft

A.D. 1591. 34 Eliz. not remembered. 4. Sundry times at Kettering, how not remembered. 5. Once at Cambridge, about Stourbridge fair time was one or two years. 6. Once at London, a little before Mr. Cartwright was committed, at Mr. Gardener's house. 7. Once at this deponent's house, the certain time not remembered.

III. PERSONS.

I. *Meeting in London, jointly or severally.*

Mr. Travers, Mr. Chark, Mr. Egerton, Mr. Gardener, Mr. Barber, Mr. Brown, Mr. Somerscales, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Chatterton, Mr. Gifford, Mr. Allen, Mr. Edmunds, Mr. Gillebrand, Mr. Culverwell, Mr. Oxenbridge, Mr. Barbon, Mr. Fludd, this deponent.

II. *Meeting in Cambridge.*

Mr. Chatterton and others of Cambridge, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Gifford, Mr. Allen, Mr. Snape, Mr. Fludd, this deponent.

III. *Meeting in Northampton, jointly or severally.*

Mr. Johnson, Mr. Snape, Mr. Sibthorpe, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Fludd, this deponent, Mr. Spicer, Mr. Fleshware, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Littleton, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Rushbrook, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Barbon, Mr. King, Mr. Proudtome, Mr. Massey, Mr. Bradshaw.

IV. *Meeting at Kettering, or near to it.*

Mr. Dammes, Mr. Pattison, Mr. Okes, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Rushbrook, Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Massey, this deponent.

2nd Interrog.—Who called these assemblies, by what authority, how, or in what sort?

Answer.—That he knew not by whom they were

called, neither knew he any other authority therein, saving a voluntary or free motion, one giving another intelligence as occasion served, sometimes by letters, and sometimes by word of mouth. A.D. 1591. 34 Eliz.

3rd Interrog.—Who were moderators in them, and what their office?

Answer.—That he remembered not who were moderators in any meeting particularly, saving once at Northampton, when Mr. Johnson was admonished, and that was either himself or Mr. Snapes, he knew not well whether.

4th Interrog.—What things were debated in those meetings or assemblies?

Answer.—That the things chiefly and most often considered of in those assemblies were these: first, the subscription to the Book of Common Prayer, how far it might be yielded unto, rather than any should forego his ministry; secondly, the Book of Discipline was often perused, discussed, &c.; thirdly, three petitions or supplications were agreed upon to be drawn—first, to her majesty—secondly, to the lords of the council—thirdly, to the bishops. The things debated of in particular, he remembered not more than these: first, the perfecting of the Book of Discipline, and purpose to subscribe to it at Cambridge; secondly, this question disputed, whether it were convenient for Mr. Cartwright to reveal the circumstances of the conference a little before he was committed; thirdly, the admonishing of Mr. Johnson once at Northampton; fourthly, the debating of this question, whether the books called Apocrypha were warrantable to be read publicly in the church as the canonical scriptures.

5th Interrog.—Whether any censures were exer-

A.D. 1591. 34 Eliz. cised, what kinds, when, where, upon whom, by whom, for what cause?

Answer.—That he never saw any censure exercised, saving admonition once upon Mr. Johnson of Northampton, for miscarrying himself in his conversation, to the scandal of his calling; neither was that used with any kind of authority, but by a voluntary yielding unto it, and approving of it, as well in him that was admonished as in him which did admonish.

6th Interrog.—Whether any of the said defendants had moved or persuaded any to refuse an oath, and in what case, &c.?

Answer.—That he never knew any of the defendants to use words of persuasion to any to refuse an oath; only Mr. Snape sent him down in writing certain reasons, drawn out of the scripture, which moved him to refuse the general oath *ex officio*, which I stood persuaded that he sent to none other end, but to declare that he refused not to swear upon any contempt, but only for conscience sake.

I have insisted the longer on this deposition, because the first and fullest that I find in the kind thereof, containing their classes more formally settled in Northamptonshire than any where else in England; for as the west part of that shire is observed to be the highest place of England, as appeareth by the rivers rising there, and running thence to the four winds, so was that county a probable place (as the middest of the land) for the presbyterian discipline, there erected, to derive itself into all the quarters of the kingdom.

40. But when the news of Mr. Stone's answer

was brought abroad, he was generally censured by those of his party, as well such as were yet at liberty, conceiving themselves endangered by his discovery, as by those already in prison, complaining that he added affliction to their bonds; yea, his embracing a different course from the rest cast an aspersion on others of his side, as less sound in judgment or tender in conscience, because peremptorily concealing what he thought fitting to confess. Many that highly esteemed him before, hereafter accounted him no precious but a counterfeit Stone; so that he found it necessary, in his own vindication, to impart the reasons of his confession to such as condemned him, if not for a traitor, at least for a coward in the cause [q]:

A. D. 1591. 34 Eliz.

The reasons why Mr. Stone made this confession against the hope and expectation of the brethren.

i. He judged it unlawful to refuse an oath, limited and bounded within the compass of the conferences, being required before a lawful magistrate in a plea for the prince to a lawful end, 1, to try out the truth in a doubtful fact, suspected and feared to be dangerous both to church and common weal; but such was that oath which was tendered to him, *ergo*,

ii. He, being lawfully sworn, judged it unlawful to be mute, much more to speak any untruth.

iii. If he had not been urged by oath to reveal, yet did he judge that silence unlawful which justly causeth suspicion of evil, as of treason, rebellion, sedition, &c.

iv. He judged that concealment unlawful which was not only scandalous, but also dangerous, as this that might occasion and encourage wicked persons to hide their complices in their worst attempts.

[q] Carefully by me transcribed out of his own letters to his friends.

A. D. 1591. 34 Eliz. v. He judged that the clearing of a doubtful fact requireth the clearing of the circumstances, which cannot be cleared till they be known.

vi. He judged that silence unlawful which leaveth the truth friendless, or few friends, when she hath need of many.

vii. He judged it a point or note of puritanism for any to stand so upon the integrity of their own actions, as that they should not be doubted of, suspected, examined, censured, &c.

viii. He saw no probability nor possibility in reason to have the circumstances longer concealed: 1. Because many of them are already made known, partly by the letters and writings of the brethren in bonds, which have been intercepted; partly, also, by certain false brethren; and, lastly, by certain faithful but weak brethren, whose confessions are to be seen under their own hands. 2. Because the magistrate is resolutely set to search them out. And, lastly, because divers are to be called, and to answer upon oath, which approve not the concealing of them.

ix. He judged the inconveniences which come by the concealing to be, if not moe in number, yet greater in weight, and more inevitable than those that come by revealings; which, as it may appear in some of the former reasons alleged to prove the unlawfulness of concealing, so may it further appear in these that follow.

x. The good name and credit of any (of a minister much more) ought to be dearer to him, and to all those that love him, than his liberty, &c.; but by this concealing, the credit of many good ministers is eclipsed.

xi. This concealing hath caused the continuance

of some in bonds and imprisonment hitherto, would cause others to be committed, and withal causeth suspicion of evils, treason, rebellion, sedition, &c., and thereby also evil report, slander, &c. A.D. 1591. 34 Eliz.

xii. As by concealing the aforesaid, suspicion and slander lieth still upon us all which have been in these actions, so doth the same grow every day more grievous by the wicked attempts of hypocrites and profane persons, which carry the name of puritans, precisians, &c., as those of late in Cheapside.

xiii. Although it be very like that the revealing will bring punishment upon the rest, yet is it not certain nor necessary, but the concealing doth certainly cause suspicion, slander, &c.

xiv. The concealing argueth either some guiltiness, or at the least some faintness and fear to be seen or known in these actions.

xv. It leaveth the truth (which now travaileth) poor, naked, destitute, and void of friends; it casteth the care, credit, countenance, defence, and maintenance of it upon those few which are in prison, which ought to be supported and maintained by all.

xvi. It leaveth the burden upon eight or nine men's shoulders, which ought to be eased by many.

What satisfaction this gave to his party I know not: sure I am the bishops, till his dying day, beheld him as an ingenuous man, carrying his conscience with the reason thereof in his own breast, and not pinning it on the precedent of any other; whereupon they permitted him peaceably to possess his parsonage, (being none of the meanest,) though he continued a stiff nonconformist, only quietly enjoying his own opinion. Indeed he was a downright

A. D. 1591. 34 Eliz. Nathaniel, if not guilty of too much of the dove in him—faulty in that defect wherein more offend in the excess, not minding the world so much as became a provident parent. But we leave him, when we have told the reader that he was bred a student in Christ Church, and was proctor of Oxford anno 1580 [r], and died quietly an old man, anno 1617, at Warkton in Northamptonshire.

Synodical meetings finally blasted.

41. Thus, one link being slipped out, the whole chain was quickly broken and scattered. Stone his discovery marred for the future all their formal meetings, as classically or synodically methodized. If any of these ministers hereafter came together, it was for visits, not visitations; to enjoy themselves, not enjoin others orders to be observed by them.

Perkins' piety procures his peace.

42. Whereas Mr. Stone confesseth their meeting in Cambridge, with Mr. Chatterton and others, I find some of these others elsewhere specified [s]; namely, Mr. Perkins and Mr. Thomas Harrison, afterwards the reverend vice-master of Trinity College, both of them concurring, though neither of them very active in this cause. Mr. Perkins, whatsoever his judgment was in point of church discipline, never publicly meddled with it in his preaching, and, being pressed by others about the lawfulness of subscription, he declined to manifest his opinion therein, glad to enjoy his own quiet, and to leave others to the liberty of their own consciences. Solomon's observation found truth in him, *When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his*

[r] Brian Twyne in App. Ant. Ac. Oxon. [Wood, F. 1, 120.]

[s] Dr. Bancroft's English Scottizing, &c. p. 89.

enemies to be at peace with him [t]; whose piety procured freedom to his preaching and fair respect to his person, even from those who in affections differed and in opinion dissented from him; for all held Perkins for a prophet—I mean for a painful and faithful dispenser of God's will in his word. A. D. 1591. 34 Eliz.

43. But I am weary of writing these sad dissensions in our church, and fain would pass over to some more pleasing subject: from the renting of God's church, to the repairing of it; from the confounding thereof, to the founding and building of some eminent place for learning and religion; but finding none of that nature this very year in England, I am fain to seek one beyond the seas, and at last have lighted on the university and college of Dublin, which now began to be erected. Transition to a more pleasant subject.

44. Anciently Ireland was the seminary of saints, people from all parts of Christendom repairing thither, there to find and thence to fetch the perfect pattern of monastical devotion. Many hundred years after, namely, in the reign of king Edward the Second, Alexander Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin, obtained license of the pope to erect an university in Dublin; but the design succeeded not according to his desire and others' expectation. Now at the last the same was effected by royal authority, and a college there erected and dedicated to the holy Trinity. This mindeth me of a pleasant passage: in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, it was enjoined that all churches dedicated to St. Thomas Becket should be new named, and consigned over to some real saint; now whilst country people sat in consultation what new saint The foundation of an university in Dublin.

[t] Prov. xvi. 7.

A. D. 1591. 34 Eliz. such churches should assume, being divided in their opinions to whom the same should be dedicated, an old man gave this advice, "Even dedicate it to the "holy Trinity, which will last and continue when "all other saints may chance to be taken away."

The several benefactors thereto.

45. Many eminent persons concurred to advance so worthy a work; and because we are to speak of a college wherein seniority takes place, we will rank these persons, not according to their dignity, but time of their benefaction [u]:

i. Henry Usher, then archdeacon of Dublin, bred in Cambridge, (afterward archbishop of Armagh, and uncle to James Usher, the present archbishop thereof,) took a journey with much danger into England, and with more difficulty procured the mortmain from

ii. Queen Elizabeth, who graciously granted it, naming the corporation *Collegium Sanctæ ac Individuæ Trinitatis, ex fundatione Reginæ Elizabethæ, juxta Dublin.*

iii. William Cecil, baron of Burleigh and treasurer of England, is appointed in the mortmain first chancellor of the university, as being an active instrument to procure the same.

iv. Sir William Fitz-Williams, lord-deputy of Ireland, whose arms are deservedly graven over the college gate, issued out his letters for collection to all the counties in Ireland, to advance so good a

[u] [According to Parr, James Stanihurst, Usher's maternal grandfather, was the first mover in this business. Parr's Usher, p. 1. See also Smith, Vit. Usserii, p. 6. It was proposed afterwards that the son of Henry Usher, mentioned below, should have succeeded bishop Bedell in the provostship. Usher's Lett. p. 102.]

design; and the Irish, though then generally papists, were very bountiful thereunto. A. D. 1591. 34 Eliz.

v. Mr. Luke Chaloner, fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, received and disbursed the monies, had the oversight of the fabric, which he faithfully procured to be finished, meriting that verse inscribed on his fair monument in Dublin College chapel, built by his daughter [x]:

Conditur hoc tumulo Chaloneri triste cadaver,
Cujus ope, et precibus, conditur ista domus.

" This tomb within it here contains
Of Chaloner the sad remains;
By whose prayer and helping hand,
This house erected here doth stand [y]."

vi. The mayor and aldermen of Dublin bestowed on the college the site thereof, with some accommodations of considerable grounds about it, being formerly a religious house termed Allhallows, which at the suppression of abbeys was bestowed on their corporation.

[x] Since married to the archbishop of Armagh. [See Parr's Usher, p. 14.]

[y] [A circumstance mentioned by Parr in his Life of Usher, p. 9, ought not to be forgotten: " that after the " English forces under lord " Montjoy had beaten and " driven out the Spaniards " who came to the assistance " of the rebel Irish at Kinsale, " they resolved to give some " testimony of the gallantry of " military men, and that due " respect which they had for " true religion and learning; " to promote which they raised " among themselves the sum " of 1800*l.* to buy books to " furnish the library of the " university of Dublin." Dr. Challoner and the celebrated James Usher had the disposal of this sum, and by a strange coincidence were employed in procuring books for their college library at the same time that sir Thomas Bodley was buying books for the Bodleian. It is almost needless to add, that they furnished each other mutual assistance in their objects. See also Bernard's Life of Usher, p. 42, ed. 1656.]

A. D. 1591. 34 Eliz. vii. Adam Loftus, fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, at this present archbishop of Dublin and chancellor of Ireland, was the first master of the college, holding it as an honorary title, though not so much to receive credit by as to return lustre to the place [z].

viii. Sir Wareham Saint-Leger was very bountiful in paying yearly pensions for the maintenance of the first students thereof, before the college was endowed with standing revenues.

ix. Sir Francis Shane, a mere Irishman, but good protestant, was a principal benefactor, and kept this infant foundation from being strangled in the birth thereof.

x. Robert D'Eureux, earl of Essex, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and second chancellor of this university, bestowed, at the entreaty of the students of this college, a cannoneer's pay, and the pay of certain dead places of soldiers, to the value well-nigh of four hundred pounds a year, for the scholars' maintenance, which continued for some years.

xi. King James, that great patron of learning, to complete all, confirmed the revenues of this college *in perpetuum*, endowing it with a great proportion of good land in the province of Ulster.

Thus, through many hands, this good work at last was finished, the first stone whereof was laid May 13, 1591; and in the year 1593, scholars were first admitted, and the first of them James Usher [a], since archbishop of Armagh, that mirror of learning and religion, never to be named by me without thanks

[z] [Of whom, see the Worthies, III. 412. Parr's Usher, p. 4.]

[a] [At the age of thirteen. Parr's Usher, p. 4.]

to him, and to God for him. Nor must it be forgotten, that what Josephus [b] reports of the temple built by Herod, κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν οἰκοδομουμένου τοῦ ναοῦ, τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας οὐχ ὕειν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς νυξὶ γίνεσθαι τοὺς ὄμβρους ὡς μὴ κωλῦσαι τὸ ἔργον, "during the "time of the building of the temple it rained not "in the daytime, but in the night, that the showers "might not hinder the work,"—I say, what by him is reported hath been avouched to me by witnesses above exception, that the same happened here, from the founding to the finishing of this college; the officious heavens always smiling by day, though often weeping by night, till the work was completed. A. D. 1591. 34 Eliz.

46. The whole species of the university of Dublin was for many years preserved in the *individuum* of this one college; but since this instrument hath made better music, when what was but a monochord before hath got two other smaller strings unto it, the addition of New College and Kildare Hall, what remaineth, but that I wish that all those worthy divines bred therein may have their *doctrine drop as the rain, and their speech distil as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass* [c]. The addition of two emissary hostels.

47. Let none censure this for a digression from our Church History of England. His discourse that is resident on the son doth not wholly wander from the father, seeing none will deny but that *proles* is *pars parentis*, "the child is part of the parent." Dublin University was a *colonia deducta* from Cambridge, and particularly from Trinity College; there- Dublin a colony of Cambridge.

[b] Antiq. Jud. XV. 14. [c] Deut. xxxii. 2.

A.D. 1591. 34 Eliz. in (one motive perchance to the name of it) as may appear by the ensuing catalogue of the provosts thereof:

i. Adam Loftus, fellow of Trinity College, first provost.

ii. Walter Travers, fellow of the same college, second provost.

iii. Henry Alvey, fellow of St. John's College in Cambridge, third provost.

iv. Sir William Temple, (who wrote a learned comment on Ramus,) fellow of King's College, fourth provost.

v. [William Bedell, fellow of Emmanuel [c].]

vi. Joseph Mede, fellow of Christ College in Cambridge, chosen provost, but refused to accept it.

vii. William Chapel, fellow of the same college, seventh provost.

Know also that this university did so Cantabrize, that she imitated her in the successive choice of her chancellors, the daughter dutifully approving and following the judgment of her mother therein.

The death of Arthur Faunt.

48. This year was fatal to no eminent protestant divine, and I find but one of the Romish persuasion dying therein,—Arthur, shall I say? or Laurence Faunt [d], born of worshipful parentage at Folston in

[c] [I do not understand why Fuller has omitted the greatest name of all, bishop Bedell. Usher induced sir William Temple to resign, on the score of infirmity, and would have put in Sibbs, the puritan; but not succeeding in this, Bedell was chosen, who at that time was thought to belong to the party. See Usher's Letters, 375-6. Bedell, however, soon grew sick of the reception which he met with. See his Letters, ibid. p. 387.]

[d] [See an account of him in Wood's Athen. I. 247, who has derived his information from Alegambe's Bibliotheca Soc. Jesu, p. 538. See also Mori, Hist. Soc. Jesu, p. 17.]

Leicestershire, bred in Merton College in Oxford, whence he fled (with Mr. Potts, his tutor) to Louvain, and never more returned into England. From Louvain he removed to Paris, thence to Minchen, (an university in Bavaria, where William the duke exhibited unto him,) thence to Rome, where he was admitted a Jesuit. Hence Pope Gregory the Thirteenth sent him to be governor of the Jesuits' College at Posna in Poland, newly erected by Sigismund, king thereof. Yea, so great was the fame of this Faunt, that, if his own letters may be believed, three princes courted him at once to come to them. He altered his Christian name of Arthur, because, as his kinsman tells us [e], no calendar saint was ever of that name, and assumed the name of Laurence, dying this year at Vilna in Lituania, leaving books of his own making much prized by those of his own profession. A.D. 1591. 34 Eliz.

49. Now began the heat and height of the sad contest betwixt Mr. Richard Hooker, master, and Mr. Walter Travers, lecturer of the Temple [f]. We The contest betwixt Hooker and Travers.

[e] Burton's Description of Leicestershire, p. 10.

[f] [This should rather be referred to the year 1585, the date of Hooker's appointment to the mastership of the Temple. The errors which Fuller committed in this account of Hooker, he afterwards retrenched, according to the testimony of Isaac Walton. See his notice to the reader, prefixed to his Life of Hooker. Speaking of bishop Gauden's Life of that eminent writer, Walton observes, "I am put upon a "necessity to say, that in it "there be many material mis-"takes, and more omissions. "I conceive some of his mis-"takes did proceed from a "belief in Mr. Thomas Fuller, "who had too hastily published "what he hath since most in-"geniously retracted."

Since the publication of the new edition of Hooker's Works by professor Keble, it is hardly necessary to state that a full and accurate account of this controversy will be found in the learned editor's Introduction.]

A.D. 1591. 34 Eliz.

will be the larger in the relating thereof, because we behold their actions not as the deeds of private persons, but the public champions of their party. Now as an army is but a champion diffused, so a champion may be said to be an army contracted. The prelatical party wrought to the height in and for Hooker; nor was the presbyterian power less active in assisting Mr. Travers: both sides being glad they had gotten two such eminent leaders, with whom they might engage with such credit to their cause.

Hooker his character.

50. Hooker was born in Devonshire, bred in Oxford, fellow of Corpus Christi College, one of a solid judgment and great reading; yea, such the depth of his learning, that his pen was a better bucket than his tongue to draw it out; a great defender, both by preaching and writing, of the discipline of the church of England, yet never got nor cared to get any eminent dignity therein—conscience, not covetousness, engaging him in the controversy. Spotless was his conversation; and though some dirt was cast, none could stick on his reputation. Mr. Travers was brought up in Trinity College in Cambridge; and because much of church matter depends upon him, I give the reader the larger account of his carriage.

Travers takes his orders beyond seas.

51. Travers, meeting with some discontents in the college after the death of Dr. Beaumont, (in whose time he was elected fellow,) took occasion to travel beyond seas, and, coming to Geneva, contracted familiarity with Mr. Beza and other foreign divines, with whom he, by letters, continued correspondency till the day of his death [g]. Then returned

[g] [Archbishop Whitgift, in a letter to lord Burghley, speaking of Travers, says, "I did "elect him fellow of Trinity

he, and commenced bachelor of divinity in Cambridge; and after that went beyond sea again, and at Antwerp was ordained minister by the presbytery there, whose testimonial I have here faithfully transcribed out of the original: A.D. 1591 34 Eliz.

" Quum multis de causis sit et æquum et con-
" sultum unumquemque eorum qui ad verbi Dei
" ministerium asciscuntur, vocationis suæ testimo-
" nium habere; asserimus, coacta Antuerpiæ ad 8
" Maij, 1578, duodecim ministrorum verbi cum toti-
" dem fere senioribus synodo, præstantissimum pie-
" tate et eruditione virum ac fratrem reverendum
" *Doctorem Gualterum Traverseum*, omnium qui
" aderant suffragiis ardentissimisque votis, consueto
" ritu fuisse in sancto verbi Dei ministerio institu-
" tum, precibusque ac manuum impositione confir-
" matum. Postero autem die post sabbatum ab illo
" in frequenti Anglorum cœtu concionem, rogante
" eo qui a synodo delegatus erat ministro, propen-
" sissimisque totius ecclesiæ animis acceptum fuisse.
" Quod quidem Domini ac fratris nostri colendi

" College, being before rejected
" by Dr. Beaumont for his in-
" tolerable stomach; whereof I
" had also afterwards such ex-
" perience, that I was forced
" by due punishment so to
" weary him, till he was fain
" to travel, and depart from
" the college to Geneva, other-
" wise he should have been
" expelled from want of con-
" formity towards the orders
" of the house, and for his
" pertinacy. Neither was there
" ever any under our govern-
" ment in whom I found less
" submission and humility than
" in him." Walton's Life of Hooker, in Keble's edition, p. 30. Travers's name is continually found coupled with those of the most violent presbyterians, in their letters published by bishop Bancroft in his Dangerous Positions. See pp. 162, 157, where Hacket desires to have a conference with him, as late as this year 1591, pp. 150, 119, 42, 80.]

A.D. 1591. 34 Eliz. "apud Anglos ministerium, ut benignitate sua Deus "omnipotens donorum suorum incremento et am- "plissimo functionis ejus fructu ornare dignetur, "enixe precamur per Jesum Christum. Amen.

"Dat. Antwerpiæ, 14 Maij, 1578.

"Det Logelerius Vilerius, verbi Dei minister, et "Johannes Hochelcus, verbi Dei minister.

"JOHANNES TAFFINUS,
"Verbi Dei Minister."

Thus put in orders by the presbytery of a foreign nation, he continued there some years, preached (with Mr. Cartwright) unto the English factory of merchants at Antwerp; until at last he came over into England, and for seven years together became lecturer in the Temple, refusing all presentative preferment to decline subscription, and lived domestic chaplain in the house of the lord treasurer Cecil, being tutor for a time to Robert his son, afterwards earl of Salisbury; and although there was much heaving and shoving at him, as one disaffected to the discipline, yet God's goodness, his friends' greatness, and his own honesty, kept him (but with much difficulty) in his ministerial employment.

He, with Mr. Cartwright, invited to be divinity professors in St. Andrew's.

52. Yea, now so great grew the credit and reputation of Mr. Travers, that, by the advice of Mr. Andrew Melvin, he and Mr. Cartwright were solemnly sent for, to be divinity professors in the university of St. Andrew's, as by this autograph (which I have in my hands, and here think fit to exemplify) may plainly appear:

"Magno quidem, fratres charissimi, gaudio nos "afficit constantia vestra, et invicta illa animi for-

" titudo, qua contra Satanæ imperium et reluctan- A.D. 1591.
" tem Christi imperio mundi fastum armavit vos 34 Eliz.
" Domini Spiritus, in asserenda apud populares ves-
" tros ecclesiæ suæ disciplina. Sed permolestum
" tamen nobis semper fuit, pertinaci inimicorum odio
" et violentia factum esse, ut cum latere et solum
" subinde vertere cogimini, minus aliquanto fructus
" ex laboribus vestris ad pios omnes perveniat, quam
" si docendo publice et concionando destinatam
" ecclesiæ Dei operam navare licuisset. Hoc quia
" in patria vobis negatum videbamus, non aliud
" nobis magis in votis erat, quam ut exulanti in
" vobis Christo hospitium aliquod in ultima Scotia
" præberetur. Quod ut fieri non incommode possit,
" speramus longo nos conatu perfecisse.

" Vetus est et non ignobilis apud nos academia
" Andreana; in qua cum aliæ artes, tum philosophia
" imprimis ita hucusque culta fuit, ut quod ab ex-
" teris nationibus peteretur, parum nobis, aut nihil
" in eo genere deesset. Verum divina illa sapientia,
" quam vel solam, vel præcipuam colere Christianos
" decet, neglecta diu in scholis jacuit; quod a prima
" statim religionis instauratione, summus omnium
" ardor exstaret in erudienda plebe; in aliis ad
" sacrum verbi ministerium instituendis paucissimi
" laborarent: non leve ut periculum subesset, ne
" (quod propitius nobis Deus avertat) concionatorum
" aliquando inopia periret, quod tanta cum spe in
" hominum animos conjectum est veræ pietatis
" semen.

" Animadvertit hoc tandem ecclesiasticus senatus,
" et cum rege regnique proceribus diligenter egit,
" ne hanc officii sui et solicitudinis partem deside-
" rari amplius paterentur. Placuit et summo om-

A. D. 1591. 34 Eliz. "nium applausu in proximis ordinum comitiis decre-
"tum est, ut quod amplitudine ceteris et opulentia
"collegium præstat theologiæ perpetuo studiis con-
"secretur: utque ad verbi Dei ministerium nemo
"admittatur, nisi linguarum, utriusque testamenti
"et locorum communium curriculo prius confecto:
"confici autem quadriennii spacio a quinque pro-
"fessoribus posse. Ex hoc numero adhuc desunt
"*Thomas Cartwrightus* et *Gualterus Traversus:* reli-
"quos nobis domi ecclesia nostra suppeditabit.
"Messem hic videtis singulari vestra eruditione et
"pietate non indignam. Ad quam pius vos princeps
"et proceres nostri; ad quam boni vos omnes et
"fratres vestri; ad quam Christi vos ecclesia et
"Christus ipse operarios invitat. Reliquum est, ut
"humanissime vocantes sequi velitis; et ad docendi
"hanc provinciam, vobis honorificam, ecclesiæ Dei
"salutarem maturetis; magnas a principe, majores
"a Christi ecclesia, maximas et immortales a maximo
"et immortali Deo gratias inituri. Quod ut sine
"mora facere dignemini, per eum ipsum vos etiam
"atque etiam obtestamur, cui acceptum ferri debet,
"quod ecclesiæ filii sui prodesse tantopere possitis.
"Valete. Edinburgi.

"Ja. Glasgney, Academiæ Cancelarius. Alaynus
"Rector. Thomas Smetonius, Decanus.

"ANDREAS MELVINUS,
"Collegii Præfectus.
"Mr. DAVID WEMS,
"Minister Glascoviensis."

This proffer both jointly refused, with return of their most affectionate thanks; and such who know least are most bold in their conjectures to adventure

at the reasons of their refusal: as, that they would not leave the sun on their backs, and remove so far north, or they were discouraged with the slenderness of the salary assigned unto them. In plain truth they were loth to leave, and their friends loth to be left by them, conceiving their pains might as well be bestowed in their native country; and Travers quietly continued lecturer at the Temple, till Mr. Hooker became the master thereof. A. D. 1591. 34 Eliz.

53. Mr. Hooker his voice was low, stature little, gesture none at all, standing stone-still in the pulpit, as if the posture of his body were the emblem of his mind, unmovable in his opinions. Where his eye was left fixed at the beginning, it was found fixed at the end of his sermon. In a word, the doctrine he delivered had nothing but itself to garnish it. His style was long and pithy, driving on a whole flock of several clauses before he came to the close of a sentence; so that when the copiousness of his style met not with proportionable capacity in his auditors, it was unjustly censured for perplexed, tedious, and obscure. His sermons followed the inclination of his studies, and were for the most part on controversies and deep points of school divinity [h]. The character of Hooker, as to his preaching.

54. Mr. Travers his utterance was graceful, ges- The description of Travers.

[h] ["In Hooker's Answer to his Supplication, it appears there was a conference between them (sc. Travers and Hooker) at Hooker's first coming to the Temple, wherein Travers took the freedom to tell him some of his faults: as his praying in the entrance of his sermon only, and not in the end; likewise naming *bishops* in his prayer; also kneeling when he prayed, and kneeling when he received the communion, and suchlike." Strype's Ann. III. 243. It seems from this that Hooker used the form of bidding-prayer.]

A. D. 1591. 34 Eliz. ture plausible, matter profitable, method plain, and his style carried in it *indolem pietatis*, a genius of grace flowing from his sanctified heart. Some say that the congregation in the Temple ebbed in the forenoon and flowed in the afternoon, and that the auditory of Mr. Travers was far the more numerous[i], the first occasion of emulation betwixt them; but such as knew Mr. Hooker, knew him to be too wise to take exception at such trifles, the rather because the most judicious is always the least part in all auditories.

They clash about matters of doctrine.

55. Here might one, on Sundays, have seen almost as many writers as hearers: not only young students, but even the gravest benchers, (such as sir Edward Cook and sir James Altham then were,) were not more exact in taking instructions from their clients, than in writing notes from the mouths of their ministers. The worst was, these two preachers, though joined in affinity, (their nearest kindred being married together,) acted with different principles, and clashed one against another; so that what Mr. Hooker delivered in the forenoon, Mr. Travers confuted in the afternoon. At the building of Solomon's temple, (1 Kings vi. 7,) *neither hammer, nor axe, nor tool of iron was heard therein;* whereas, alas! in this Temple not only much knocking was heard, but (which was the worst) the nails and pins which one master-builder drave in were driven out

[i] [This is not surprising; for Alvey, Hooker's predecessor in the mastership of the Temple, entertained the same principles as Travers. Walton's Hooker, pp. 27, 51, n.; so until this time the Temple heard little else than the doctrines of Geneva. "It was a custom "also, in Mr. Alvey's time, to "receive the communion *sit-* "*ting*." Strype, ib.]

by the other. To pass by lesser differences betwixt them about predestination, A.D. 1591. 34 Eliz.

Hooker maintained	*Travers defended*
The church of Rome, though not a pure and perfect, yet is a true church; so that such who live and die therein [j], upon their repentance of all their sins of ignorance, may be saved [k].	The church of Rome is no true church at all; so that such as live and die therein, holding justification in part by works, cannot be said by the scriptures to be saved.

Thus much disturbance was caused, to the disquieting of people's consciences, the disgrace of the ordinance, the advantage of the common enemy, and the dishonour of God himself.

56. Here archbishop Whitgift interposed his power, and silenced Travers from preaching either in the Temple or any where else. It was laid to his charge, 1, That he was no lawful ordained minister, according to the church of England; 2ndly, That he preached here without license; 3rdly, That he had broken the order made in the seventh year of her majesty's reign, wherein it was provided, "That erroneous doctrine, if it came to be "publicly taught, should not be publicly refuted, "but that notice thereof should be given to the "ordinary, to hear and determine such causes, to "prevent public disturbance." Travers is silenced by the archbishop.

57. As for Travers his silencing, many which were well pleased with the deed done were offended at the manner of doing it; for all the congregation Many pleased with the deed, but not with the manner of doing it.

j Being *weak, ignorant,* and *seduced.*

k [See Walton's Life of Hooker, p. 55.]

A. D. 1591. 34 Eliz. on a sabbath, in the afternoon, were assembled together, their attention prepared, the cloth (as I may say) and napkins were laid, yea, the guests sat, and their knives drawn for their spiritual repast, when suddenly, as Mr. Travers was going up into the pulpit, a sorry fellow served him with a letter, prohibiting him to preach any more. In obedience to authority, (the mild and constant submission whereunto won him respect with his adversaries,) Mr. Travers calmly signified the same to the congregation, and requested them quietly to depart to their chambers. Thus was our good *Zaccarias struck dumb in the temple*, but not for infidelity, unpartial people accounting his fault at most but indiscretion. Meantime his auditory (pained that their pregnant expectation to hear him preach should so publicly prove abortive, and sent sermonless home) manifested in their variety of passion, some grieving, some frowning, some murmuring; and the wisest sort, who held their tongues, shaked their heads, as disliking the managing of the matter.

Travers his plea in his petition.

58. Travers addressed himself by petition to the lords of the privy council, (where his strength lay, as Hooker's, in the archbishop of Canterbury and high commission,) grievously complained that he was punished before he was heard, silenced (by him apprehended the heaviest penalty) before sent for, contrary to equity and reason, *the law condemning none before it hear him, and know what he hath done* [m].

i. To the exception against the lawfulness of his ministry, he pleaded that the communion of saints

[m] John vii. 51.

allows ordination legal in any Christian church. Orders herein are like degrees, and a doctor graduated in any university hath his title and place granted him in all Christendom. A.D. 1591. 34 Eliz.

ii. For want of license to preach, he pleaded that he was recommended to this place of the Temple by two letters of the bishop of London, the diocesan thereof.

iii. His anti-preaching in the afternoon against what was delivered before, he endeavoured to excuse by the example of St. Paul, *who gave not place to Peter, no, not an hour, that the truth of the gospel might continue amongst them* [n].

But we are too tedious herein, especially seeing his petition is publicly extant in print, with Mr. Hooker his answer thereunto, whither we refer the reader for his more ample satisfaction [o].

59. By the way it must not be forgotten, that in the very midst of the paroxysm betwixt Hooker and Travers, the latter still bare (and none can challenge the other to the contrary) a reverend esteem of his adversary; and when an unworthy aspersion, some years after, was cast on Hooker, (if Christ was dashed, shall Christians escape clean in their journey to heaven?) Mr. Travers, being asked of a private friend what he thought of the truth of that accusation, "In truth," said he, "I take Mr. Hooker to "be a holy man;"—a speech which, coming from an adversary, sounds no less to the commendation of his charity who spake it, than to the praise of his piety of whom it was spoken. A charitable adversary.

[n] Gal. ii. 5. [See his letter in the Appendix.]

[o] [At the conclusion of the Ecclesiastical Polity.]

A. D. 1591. 34 Eliz.

60. The council-table was much divided about Travers his petition. All Whitgift's foes were *ipso facto* made Travers his favourers; besides, he had a large stock of friends on his own account. But Whitgift's finger moved more in church matters than all the hands of all the privy counsellors besides; and he was content to suffer others to be believed (and perchance to believe themselves) great actors in church government, whilst he knew he could and did do all things himself therein. No favour must be afforded Travers on any terms: 1. Dangerous was his person, a Cartwright junior, none in England either more loving Geneva or more beloved by it. 2ndly. Dangerous the place, the Temple being one of the inns (therefore a public) of court, therefore a principal place; and to suffer one opposite to the English discipline to continue lecturer there, what was it but in effect to retain half the lawyers of England to be of counsel against the ecclesiastical government thereof. 3rdly. Dangerous the precedent: this leading case would be presumed on for others to follow, and a rank's breaking may be an army's ruining.

Travers must have no favour.

Whitgift his politic carriage.

61. This was the constant custom of Whitgift: if any lord or lady sued to him to shew favour for their sakes to nonconformists, his answer to them was rather respectful to the requester than satisfactory to the request. He would profess how glad he was to serve them, and gratify them in compliance with their desire, assuring them for his part all possible kindness should be indulged unto them; but, in fine, he would remit nothing of his rigour against them. Thus he never denied any great man's desire, and yet never granted it; pleasing

them for the present with general promises, (and in them not dissembling, but using discreet and right expressions,) still kept constant to his own resolution. Hereupon afterwards the nobility surceased making more suits unto him, as ineffectual, and even left all things to his own disposal. A. D. 1591. 34 Eliz.

62. Thus Mr. Travers, notwithstanding the plenty of his potent friends, was overborne by the archbishop, and, as he often complained, could never obtain to be brought to a fair hearing. But his grief hereat was something abated, when Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin and chancellor of Ireland, (his ancient colleague in Cambridge,) invited him over to be provost of Trinity College in Dublin. Embracing the motion, over he went, accepting the place, and continued some years therein; till, discomposed with the fear of their civil wars, he returned into England, and lived here many years very obscurely, (though in himself a shining light,) as to the matter of outward maintenance. Travers goeth into Ireland, and returneth.

63. Yet had he Agur's wish, *neither poverty nor riches*, though his enough seemed to be of shortest size. It matters not whether men's means be mounted or their minds descend, so be it that both meet, as here in him, in a comfortable contentment. Yea, when the right reverend and religious James Usher (then bishop of Meath, since archbishop of Armagh, brought up under him, and with him agreeing in doctrine, though dissenting in discipline) proffered money unto him for his relief, Mr. Travers returned a thankful refusal thereof[p]. Sometimes His contented life, and quiet death.

[p] [Usher was no otherwise, I imagine, brought up under Travers, than as far as the latter was provost of Trinity College, Dublin, during some period of Usher's studies there. In 1593

A.D. 1591. 34 Eliz. he did preach, rather when he durst than when he would, debarred from all cure of souls by his nonconformity. He lived and died unmarried; and though leaving many nephews, some eminent scholars, bequeathed all his books of oriental languages, (wherein he was exquisite,) and plate worth fifty pounds, to Sion College in London. Oh if this good man had had an hand to his heart, or rather a purse to his hand, what charitable works would he have left behind him! But, in pursuance of his memory, I have intrenched too much on the modern times; only this I will add, perchance the reader will be angry with me for saying thus much, and I am almost angry with myself for saying no more of so worthy a divine.

The death of worthy Mr. Greenham, of the plague;

64. Return we to the year 1592, which we find in London filled with funerals, so that within twelve months moe than ten thousand were swept away therein of the plague, and amongst them reverend Mr. Richard Greenham, the reason why we find not the exact date of his death [q]. In contagious times, the corpses of those who, living, were best beloved, are rather hurried than carried to the grave; and in such confusions, those parishes who have the best memories prove forgetful, their registers being either carelessly kept or totally omitted. Thus our Greenham was mortally visited with the plague, whereof we find Munster, Franciscus Junius, Chimidontius, and other worthy divines, formerly deceased in Germany; that patent of preservation against the

Usher was entered there, being then thirteen years of age.]

[q] [See some account of him in Strype's Annals, II. 4, IV. 607. A Life of Greenham will also be found in Clarke's Martyrology. Lives of Thirty-two English Divines, p. 12.]

pestilence, *A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee*[r], running (as all other temporal promises) with this secret clause of revocation, if God in his wisdom were not pleased otherwise to countermand it. A. D. 1591. 34 Eliz.

65. It may be said of some persons, in reference to their history, that they were born men; namely, such of whose birth and youth we find no particular account. Greenham is one of these, for, for want of better intelligence, we find him full-grown at the first, when, *anno Domini* , he was admitted into Pembroke Hall in Cambridge; in which house, some years after, the youth of Mr. Lancelot Andrews[s] (afterwards bishop of Winchester) was well acquainted with Mr. Greenham; and I dare boldly say, if Greenham gained any learning by Andrews, Andrews lost no religion by Greenham. He afterwards left the university, and became minister three miles off, at Dry Drayton. Fellow of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge.

66. Dry Drayton, indeed, which, though often watered with Mr. Greenham's tears, and oftener with his prayers and preaching, moistened the rich with his counsel, the poor with his charity, neither produced proportionable fruitfulness. The generality of his parish remained ignorant and obstinate, to their pastor's great grief, and their own greater damage and disgrace. Hence the verses, He is humbled with an obstinate parish.

> "Greenham had pastures green,
> But sheep full lean."

Thus God alone is the good shepherd, who doth

[r] Psalm xci. 7.

[s] Some say he had an hand in making some of Mr. Greenham's works.

A. D. 1592. 35 Eliz. feed and can fat his sheep, and can make them to thrive under his keeping.

His dexterity in healing afflicted consciences.

67. He used often, at the entreaty of some doctors, to preach at St. Mary's in Cambridge, where, sometimes so great his zeal in pressing important points, that he hath lost himself in the driving home of some application, even to the forgetting of his text, (as himself would confess,) till he recovered the same on some short recollection. He always bitterly inveighed against non-residents, professing that he wondered how such men could take any comfort in their wealth; "for methinks," saith he, "they should see written on every thing which they "have *pretium sanguinis* — 'this is the price of "blood.'" But his masterpiece was in comforting wounded consciences; for, although heaven's hand can only set a broken heart, yet God used him herein as an instrument of good to many, who came to him with weeping eyes, and went from him with cheerful souls. The breath of his gracious counsel blew up much smoking flax into a blazing flame.

He, leaving his cure, cometh to London.

68. Hereupon the importunity of his friends (if herein they proved so) persuaded him to leave his parish and remove to London, where his public parts might be better advantaged for the general good. They pleaded the little profit of his long pains to so poor and peevish a parish; pity it was so good a fisherman should cast his nets elsewhere than in that ocean of people; what was Dry Drayton but a bushel to hide, London an high candlestick to hold up the brightness of his parts? Over-entreated by others, even almost against his own judgment, he resigned his cure to a worthy successor, and repaired to London; where, after some years' preaching up

and down in no constant place, he was resident on no cure, but the curing of consciences. I am credibly informed [t] he in some sort repented his removal from his parish, and disliked his own erratical and planetary life, which made him fix himself preacher at last at Christ Church in London, where he ended his days. A. D. 1592. 35 Eliz.

69. He lived sermons, and was most precise in his conversation; a strict observer of the Lord's day, and a great advancer thereof through the whole realm by that treatise which he wrote of the sabbath. No book in that age made greater impression on people's practice, as one [u] (then a great wit in the university, now a grave wisdom in our church) hath ingeniously expressed: A great instrument of the good keeping of the Lord's day.

"*On Mr. Greenham's Book of the Sabbath.*

"While Greenham writeth on the sabbath's rest,
His soul enjoys not what his pen express'd;
His work enjoys not what itself doth say,
For it shall never find one resting day.
A thousand hands shall toss each page and line,
Which shall be scanned by a thousand eine;
That sabbath's rest, or this sabbath's unrest,
Hard is to say whether's the happiest."

Thus godly Greenham is fallen asleep. We softly draw the curtains about him, and so proceed to other matter [x].

[t] By my own father, Mr. Thomas Fuller, who was well acquainted with him.

[u] Mr. Joseph Hall.

[x] [A list of his writings, which were somewhat numerous, is given by bishop Tanner in his Bibliotheca Historica, p. 341.]

SECT. VIII.

TO THE

LADY ANNE ARCHER,

OF TAMWORTH, IN WARWICKSHIRE[a].

Madam,

You, being so good a housewife, know far better than I how much strength and handsomeness good hemming addeth to the end of a cloth. I therefore, being now to put a period to this long and important century, (as big as the whole book besides, but chiefly containing the reign, the honour of your sex and our nation,) have resolved, to prevent the unravelling thereof, to close and conclude it with this dedication to your ladyship; on which account alone you are placed last in this book, though otherwise the first and freest in encouraging my weak endeavours.

[a] [Daughter of sir John Ferrers, of Tamworth, knight. She was married to sir S. Archer, whose munificence to literature and learned men is celebrated both by Dugdale, (History of Warwickshire, p. 781, ed. by Thomas,) as also by Fuller, in the previous part of this history. The arms of the Ferrers are varry or and gules.]

F Mr. Udal's death come we now to treat. Through some defect in the records [b], (transposed or lost,) we cannot tell the certain day of Mr. Udal's condemnation and death [c]; but this appears in the office, that two years since (viz. 32nd of Eliz., July 23) he was indicted and arraigned at Croydon, for defaming the queen her government in a book by him written, and entitled, "A demonstration of the Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word for the government of his Church, in all times and places, until the world's end." But the *mortal words* (as I may term them) are found in the preface of his book, written "to the supposed governors of the church of England, archbishops, bishops, &c.," and are inserted in the body of his indictment as followeth:

A. D. 1592. 35 Eliz. Tho uncertain date of Mr. Udal's death.

"Who can without blushing deny you to be the "cause of all ungodliness, seeing your government "is that which giveth leave to a man to be any "thing saving a sound Christian? For, certainly, it "is more free in these days to be a papist, ana-"baptist, of the family of love, yea, any most "wicked whatsoever, than that which we should "be; and I could live these twenty years any such "in England, (yea, in a bishop's house, it may be,) "and never be much molested for it: so true is "that which you are charged with in a Dialogue "lately come forth against you, and since burned

[b] Searched by me and my friends in the office of the clerk of assize for Surrey.

[c] [For the particulars relative to Udal's trial and condemnation, see Strype's Annals, IV. p. 21, sq. He died in a prison called the White Lion, Southwark.]

A. D. 1592. 35 Eliz. "by you, that you care for nothing but the main-
"tenance of your dignities, be it to the damnation
"of your own souls, and infinite millions moe."

To this indictment he pleaded not guilty, denying himself to be the author of the book. Next day he was cast by the jury, and submitted himself to the mercy of the court, whereby he prevailed that judgment against him was respited till the next assizes, and he remanded to the Marshalsea.

Mr. Udal his supplication to the lords of the assizes.

2. March following, (the 33rd of queen Elizabeth,) he was brought again to the bar before the judges, to whom he had privately presented a petition with all advantage, but it found no entertainment; insomuch that in this month of March [d], (the day not appearing in the records,) he, at the assizes held in Southwark, was there condemned to be executed for a felon.

Various censures on his condemnation.

3. Various were men's censures on these proceedings against him. Some conceived it rigorous in the greatest (which at the best is cruel in the least) degree, considering the worth of his person and weakness of the proof against him; for he was a learned man, blameless for his life, powerful in his praying, and no less profitable than painful in his preaching: for as Musculus in Germany, if I mistake not, first brought in the plain but effectual manner of preaching by use and doctrine, so Udal was the first who added reasons thereunto, the strength and sinews of a sermon. His English-Hebrew Grammar he made whilst in prison, as appears by a subscription in the close thereof. The

[d] [In 1591, according to Strype, ib. p. 24.]

proof was not pregnant, and it is generally believed that he made only the preface (out of which his indictment was chiefly framed) and not the body of the book laid to his charge; besides, it was harsh to inflict immediate and direct death for a consequential and deductory felony, it being penhoused out beyond the foundation and intent of the statute to build the indictment thereupon. Others thought that some exemplary severity was necessary, not only to pinion the wings of such pamphlets from flying abroad, but even thereby to crush their eggs in the nest. Surely the multitude of visits unto him, during his durance, no whit prolonged his life; for flocking to popular prisoners in such cases is as ominous a presage of their death, as the flying and fluttering of ravens near and about the house and chamber of a sick body. A. D. 1592. 35 Eliz.

4. But an higher Judge had formerly passed another sentence on Udal's death, that his soul and body should not by shameful violence be forced asunder, but that they should take a fair farewell each of other. How long he lived after his condemnation we know not, there being a tradition that sir Walter Raleigh procured a reprieve in a fair way to his pardon: this is certain, that without any other sickness, save heart-broken with sorrow, he ended his days. Right glad were his friends that his death prevented his *death;* and the wisest of his foes were well contented therewith, esteeming it better that his candle should go than be put out, lest the snuff should be unsavoury to the survivors, and his death be charged as a cruel act on the account of the procurers thereof. He died peaceably in his bed.

5. The ministers of London flocked to his funeral, His solemn burial.

A. D. 1593. 36 Eliz. and he was decently interred in the churchyard of St. George's in Southwark, not far from bishop Bonner's grave; so near may their bodies, when dead, in posture be together, whose minds, when living, in opinion were far asunder. Nor have I aught else to observe of him, save that I am informed that he was father of Ephraim Udal, a solid and pious divine, dying in our days, but in point of discipline of a different opinion from his father [e].

H. B., I. G., and I. P. executed.

6. And now, the sword of justice being once drawn, it was not put up again into the sheath before others were executed; for Henry Barrow, gentleman, and John Greenwood, clerk, (who some days before were indicted of felony at the sessions hall without Newgate, before the lord mayor and the two chief justices, for writing certain seditious pamphlets,) were hanged at Tyburn [f]; and not long after John Penry, a Welshman, was apprehended at Stevenhith, by the vicar thereof, arraigned and condemned of felony at the King's Bench at Westminster, for being a principal penner and publisher of a libellous book called "Martin Mar-Prelates," and executed at St. Thomas Waterings. Daniel Studley, girdler, Saxio Billot, gentleman, and Robert Bowley, fishmonger, were also condemned for publishing scandalous books; but not finding their execution, I believe them reprieved and pardoned [g].

[e] [Author of a celebrated tract against sacrilege, entitled "Noli me tangere, or a thing "to be thought on," published in 1641. He suffered more for truth and order than did his father for irregular and misdirected zeal, being persecuted by the presbyterians, and at last, in his old age, turned out of his living by the parliament, and literally left with an aged wife to die in the streets. See Wood's Fast. I. 251.]

[f] Stow's Chron. p. 765.

[g] [Of Penry and his indict-

7. About this time, if not somewhat sooner, (for my inquiry cannot arrive at the certain date,) queen Elizabeth took her last farewell of Oxford, where a divinity act was kept before her, on this question, "Whether it be lawful to dissemble in matters of "religion?" One of the opponents endeavoured to prove the affirmative by his own example,—"Who "then did what was lawful, and yet he dissembled "in disputing against the truth?"—the queen being well pleased at the wittiness of the argument [h]. Dr. Westphaling, (who had divers years been bishop of Hereford,) coming then to Oxford, closed all with a learned determination, wherein no fault, except somewhat too copious, not to say tedious; at that time her highness intending that night to make a speech, and thereby disappointed.

A. D. 1593. 36 Eliz. The queen's last coming to Oxford.

8. Next day her highness made a Latin oration to the heads of houses, (on the same token she therein gave a check to Dr. Reynolds for his nonconformity,) in the midst whereof, perceiving the old lord Burleigh stand by, with his lame legs, she would not proceed till she saw him provided of a stool [i], and then fell to her speech again, as sensible of no interruption; having the command as well of her Latin tongue as of her loyal subjects.

Her Latin oration.

ment, see Strype's Annals, IV. p. 176, sq. Life of Whitgift, p. 409, sq. See also an important tract, entitled "The "Examinations of Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and "John Penry, before the High "Commissioners and Lords of "the Council; penned by the "prisoners themselves before "their deaths." Printed in 1586, and reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, II. p. 10. Some of Penry's letters to queen Elizabeth may be found in Pagitt's Heresiography, p. 271.]

[h] Sir J. Harrington's State of the Church, II. 180.

[i] Idem, p. 182.

A.D. 1593. 36 Eliz. 9. John Piers, archbishop of York, ended his life[k], dean of Christ Church in Oxford, bishop of Rochester, Salisbury, and archbishop of York. When newly beneficed a young man in Oxfordshire, he had drowned his good parts in drunkenness, conversing with his country parishioners; but on the confession of his fault to a grave divine, reformed his conversation, so applying himself to his studies that he deservedly gained great preferment, and was highly esteemed by queen Elizabeth, whose almoner he continued for many years; and he must be a wise and good man whom that thrifty princess would entrust with distributing her money. He was one of the most grave and reverend prelates of his age, and after his reduced life so abstemious, that his physician in his old age could not persuade him to drink wine; so habited he was in sobriety, in detestation of his former excess[l].

The death of bishop Elmar. 10. The same year died John Aylmer, bishop of London[m], bred in Cambridge, well learned, as appeareth by his book titled "The Harborough of "Princes;" one of a low stature, but stout spirit, very valiant in his youth, and witty all his life[n]. Once when his auditory began at sermon to grow dull in their attentions, he presently read unto them many verses out of the Hebrew text; whereat they

[k] [Sept. 28, 1594.]

[l] [See some account of him in Wood's Athen. I. 713, and in Strype's Annals, IV. 202, taken from the sermon preached at the bishop's funeral by Dr. King. Fuller's remarks upon his dissolute conduct during his youth seem rather contradictory to what is stated by Dr. King. Indeed most of these anecdotes respecting the bishops of this reign were derived from sir John Harrington, a courtier and a wit,—a writer whose credit is very doubtful.]

[m] [June 3, 1594.]

[n] [Strype's Aylmer, p. 20.]

all started, admiring what use he meant to make thereof. Then shewed he them their folly, that whereas they neglected English, whereby they might be edified, they listened to Hebrew, whereof they understood not a word. He was a stiff and stern champion of church discipline, on which account none more mocked by Martin Mar-Prelate, or hated by nonconformists. To his eldest son he left a plentiful estate; and his second, a doctor of divinity, was a worthy man of his profession [o]. A. D. 1593. 36 Eliz.

11. But, of the Romanists, two principal pillars ended their lives beyond the seas: first, William Reginald, *alias* Rose, born at Pinho in Devonshire [p], bred in Winchester School, then in New College in Oxford. Forsaking his country, he went to Rome, and there solemnly abjured the protestant religion; and thereupon was permitted to read (a favour seldom or never bestowed on such novices) any protestant books, without the least restriction, presuming on his zeal in their cause. From Rome he removed to Rheims in France, where he became professor of divinity and Hebrew, in the English college; where, saith my author [q], with studying, writing, and preaching against the protestants, perchance he exhausted himself with too much labour, and, breaking a vein, almost lost his life with vomit- The death of William Reginald.

[o] [Strype, ib. p. 134.]

[p] Pitz. [in Vita, p. 790. Wood's Ath. I. 267. He was brother of the celebrated John Rainolds, of Corpus Christi College, who in the earlier part of his life was as zealous a Romanist as his brother was a protestant; but the one labouring to convince the other, they succeeded so effectually, that each changed sides; William became one of the most eminent and laborious of the ultra-Romanists, and his brother John distinguished himself as the leader of the ultra-protestant party.]

[q] Ibidem.

A.D. 1594. 37 Eliz.

ing of blood. Recovering his strength, he vowed to spend the rest of his life in writing against protestants; and death at Antwerp seized on him, the twenty-fourth of August, (the fiftieth year of his age,) as he was a making of a book called "*Calvino-Turcismus*;" which after, by his dear friend William Gifford [r], was finished, set forth, and dedicated to Albert duke of Austria.

The death of cardinal Allen.

12. William Allen, commonly called the cardinal of England [s], followed him into another world, born of honest parents, and allied to noble kindred in Lancashire; brought up at Oxford in Oriel College, where he was proctor of the university in the days of queen Mary, and afterwards head of St. Mary Hall, and canon of York; but on the change of religion he departed the land, and became professor of divinity at Douay in Flanders, then canon of Cambray, master of the English college at Rheims, made cardinal 1587, August the seventh, by pope Sixtus Quintus; the king of Spain bestowing on him an abbey in the kingdom of Naples [t], and nominating him to be archbishop of Mechlin; but death arrested him to pay the debt to nature, October sixteenth [u], and he was buried in the church of the English college at Rome. This is that Allen whom we have so often mentioned, conceived so great a champion for their cause, that pope Gregory the Thirteenth said to his cardinals, "*Venite fratres mei, ostendam vobis Alanum* [x];" which the author thus translates, or rather com-

[r] [Concerning whom, see Wood's Athen. I. 531.]
[s] [Wood's Ath. I. 268.]
[t] Camd. Eliz. in hoc anno.
[u] Pitz. in Vita, p. 793.
[x] Watson's Quodlibets, p. 97.

ments on: "Come, my brethren, and I will shew "you a man, in Anglia born, to whom all Europe "may give place for his high prudence, reverend "countenance, and purport of government." His loss was much lamented by the catholics, (not without cause,) whose gravity and authority had done many good offices in composing the grudgings which began to grow betwixt secular priests and Jesuits; which private heartburnings, soon after his death, blazed out in the prison of Wisbich into an open scandal, as now we come to report[y]. A. D. 1594. 37 Eliz.

13. Here I protest (though uncertain how far to find belief) that I take no delight in relating these discontents, much less shall my pen widen the A sad subject to write of Christian discords.

[y] [Cardinal Allen was much beloved by the secular priests. It might almost be said that he was the only person at that time who, by his eminence and character, had sufficient authority to control the Jesuits, then beginning to shew somewhat of their ambitious spirit. Watson describes him, in his quaint way, as "a man in "whose very countenance was "pourtrayed out a map of po-"litical government indeed, "stained with a sable dye of "gravity, sublimated with a "reverend majesty in his looks, "yielding favour and forcing "fear,—one most reverenced "of our nation, and worthily "reverenced of us, one or two "actions excepted, whereunto "he was drawn by father Par-"sons' exorbitant courses and "impudency; yea, even our "common adversaries [the pro-"testants] did commend his "mild spirit in comparison of "Dr. Saunders, both writing "about one time, but with a "far different drift, intent, and "manner of proceeding. His "grace never liked of invad-"ing, conversions of countries "with bloody blades; and "howsoever he was drawn (as "wearied out with impostors, "exprobrations, and expostu-"lations of father Parsons and "others) to some odious at-"tempts against his dread so-"vereign and dear country, "both which he with no less "loialty honoured than dearly "affected in his best thoughts, "yet afterwards he retired "himself from those seditious "courses, rightly condemning "and contemning all such fac-"tious dispositions in his very "heart." Quodl. p. 91. A Life of Cardinal Allen was written by Fitzherbert.]

A. D. 1594. 37 Eliz.

wound betwixt them; for though I approve the opinions of neither, yet am I so much friend to the persons of both parties as not to make much to myself of their discords: the rather because no Christian can heartily laugh at the factions of his fiercest enemies, because that sight at the same time pincheth him with the sad remembrance that such divisions that have formerly, do at the present, or may hereafter, be found amongst those of his own profession; such is the frailty of human nature, in what side soever. However, hereafter let not papists without cause or measure vaunt of their unity, seeing their pretended ship of St. Peter is not so solidly compacted but that it may spring a leak; nor let them boast so confidently of their sufferings, and blame our severity unto them, as if enduring such hard usage in their imprisonment. Surely, like Joseph, *their feet were not hurt in the stocks, the iron did not enter into their soul*[z]; neither, with Jeremy, were they *cast into a dirty dungeon, where they sunk in mire*[a]: nor, with Peter, were they *bound with two chains*[b]; nor, with Paul and Silas, were they *thrust into the inner prison, and made fast*[c]; but had, in their durance, liberty, list, and leisure to begin, foment, and prosecute this violent schism betwixt themselves.

The beginning of the schism betwixt the seculars and the Jesuits.

14. Until this time the prime catholics in Wisbich Castle had lived there in restraint, with great unity and concord[d]; and the papists do brag that

[z] Psalm cv. 18.
[a] Jer. xxxviii. 6.
[b] Acts xii. 6.
[c] Acts xvi. 24.
[d] ["Wisbycense castrum in- "ter paludes loco insaluber- "rimo situm ad includendos "sacerdotes catholicos destina- "tum, episcopo, abbate, mul- "tisque insignissimis nobilita-

then and there the English church was most visible, A. D. 1594. 37 Eliz.
until one father Weston [e], *alias* Edmonds, a Jesuit, coming thither, erected a government amongst them, making certain sanctions and orders, which all were bound to observe [f]; secretly procuring subjects to himself, and claiming a superiority over all the catholics there; yet so cunningly he contrived the matter, that he seemed not ambitiously to affect, but religiously to accept, this authority proffered unto, yea, seemingly forced upon him; for one of his friends writes to father Henry Garnett, provincial, then living in England, to this effect:

"Good father Weston, in the humility of his "heart, lies on his bed, like the man sick of the "palsy, in the gospel; nor will he walk confidently "before others in the way of the righteous, except "first he be let down through the tiles, and it be "said unto him from the provincial, *Arise, take up* "*thy bed, and walk* [g]."

Yet, if the seculars may be believed, he did not only arise, but run, before that word of command given him by Garnett, and put his jurisdiction in execution. Besides those of his own society, many of the secular priests submitted themselves unto him, seduced, say some [h], by the seeming sanctity

"tum fuit inclusis confessori- "bus, quorum multitudo, pie- "tas, eruditio, industria, con- "cordia ita sæpe refocillarat ca- "tholicos, ita pluries devicerat "hæreticos ut ibidem ecclesia "Anglicana maxime visibilis "celebrisque haberetur." Declaratio Motuum, p. 11.]

[e] [Wood, II. 275.]

[f] [See Watson's Quodl. p. 2, sq., Wood's Ath. II. 275.]

[g] [See Declaratio Motuum, &c. p. 13, of which these words are a literal translation.]

[h] Declaratio Motuum, &c. ad Clem. VIII. exhibita, p. 12. [The following is the full title

A. D. 1594. 37 Eliz. of the Jesuits, and having their judgments bribed to that side by unequal proportions of money received; besides promising themselves that in case the land was invaded, by the activity of the Jesuits all power and preferment would be at their dispose, and so they should be sooner and higher advanced.

of this rare and curious book: "Declaratio Motuum ac turbationum quæ ex controversiis inter Jesuitas iisque in omnibus faventem D. Georg. Blackwellum Archipresbyterum et Sacerdotes Seminariorum in Anglia, ab obitu Cardinalis Alani piæ memoriæ ad annum usque 1601. Ad S. D. N. Clementem octavum exhibita ab ipsis Sacerdotibus qui schismatis aliorumque criminum sunt insimulati. Rhotomagi apud Jacobum Molæum, sub signo Phœnicis. 1601." 4to. According to Pitts, (p. 810,) this book was written by John Hurst, a secular priest; but according to Wood, (Ath. II. 390,) by Christopher Bagshaw, the violent opponent of father Parsons, who published also another work of a similar argument, entitled "A true Relation of the Faction begun at Wisbich by Father Edmonds, alias Weston, a Jesuit, 1595, and continued since by Father Walley, alias Garnet, the Provincial of the Jesuits in England, and by Father Parsons in Rome, with their adherents, against us the secular Priests, their brethren and fellow-prisoners, that disliked of novelties, and thought it dishonourable to the ancient Ecclesiastical Discipline of the Catholic Church that secular Priests should be governed by Jesuits. Henley: imprinted 1601." 4to. Both of these tracts bear internal marks of having been composed by the same person; both give a very full account of the dissensions between the seculars and the Jesuits; a passage in English history hitherto rarely touched upon, but yet intimately connected with some most important events in this and the subsequent reign. Besides these persons already mentioned, William Watson, a secular priest, (executed in the subsequent reign for his concern in the plot of Grey, Cobham, and others,) took a part in this controversy, and wrote a somewhat voluminous work, important for the history of the English Roman Catholics, called, "A Decachordon of Ten Quodlibetical Questions, &c.," of which some further account will be found below. He was likewise the author of an anonymous pamphlet on the same subject, entitled "A Dialogue betwixt a secular Priest and a lay Gentleman concerning some Points objected by the Jesuitical Faction against

15. But the greatest number and learned sort of the secular priests stoutly resisted his superiority, affirming how formerly it had been offered to Thomas Watson, bishop of Lincoln, (late prisoner amongst them,) and he refused it, as inconsistent with their present condition, affliction making them equals, and a prison putting a parity betwixt them. If any order might pretend to this priority, it was most proper for the Benedictines, extant in England above a thousand years ago; that the Jesuits were punies; and if all orders should sit down, as Jacob's children at the table of Joseph, *the eldest according to his age, and the youngest according to his youth*[i], the last and least place of honour was due unto them; that the secular priests had *borne the heat of the day* in preaching and persecution, some of them having endured above twenty years' imprisonment for conscience sake, (as Mr. Bluet for one[k],) before some of the Jesuits knew what durance meant; that Weston was not eminent for learning, religion, or any prime quality, save only the affecting that place which his betters had declined; that it was monstrous that he, being a Jesuit, and so a member of another society, should be made a head of their

A. D. 1594. 37 Eliz. The seculars refuse to obey Weston, and why.

" such secular Priests as have " shewed their dislike of Mr. " Blackwell and the Jesuits' " Proceedings. Printed at " Rhemes, 1601." 4to. Father Parsons defended the Jesuits; and a list of his writings upon this occasion is given by Wood in the Life of Parsons, Ath. I. 356. But the fullest account of the publications on both sides, will be found in Bell's Anatomy of Popish Tyranny, (4to, 1603,) in the "Caveat to " the Reader;" in which copious extracts from most of the pamphlets will be found. See also a paper in Strype's Annals, IV. 194, sq., and a further account of some of these books, ib. p. 318.]

[i] Gen. xxxiv. 33.

[k] Watson's Quodlibets, p. 4.

A. D. 1594. 37 Eliz.

body. The lay-catholics were much offended with the schism; some withheld, others threatening to withhold, their charity from both parties, conceiving it the ready means, when maintenance was detained from both sides, to starve them into agreement.

Weston employed but as a scout to discover the temper of the secular priests.

16. One might admire why father Weston should so earnestly desire so silly a dominion, having his power as well as his own person confined within the walls of Wisbich Castle, (a narrow diocese,) only to domineer over a few prisoners; the gaoler, yea, the very turnkey being his superior to control him, if offering to exceed that compass. But oh the sweetness of supremacy, though in never so small a circuit! It pleased his pride to be prior of a prison, but *agent* was the title wherewith he styled himself[1]; indeed the English Jesuits, both abroad in England and beyond the seas, made use of Weston's forwardness to try the temper of the secular priests, and to make this bold Jesuit to back and break a skittish colt for further designs. If Weston were unhorsed, his fall would be little lamented, and he might thank his own boldness in adventuring, and the ill managing of his place; if he sat the beast, and it proved tame, then others would up and ride; and father Garnett, provincial of the Jesuits, intended in like manner to procure from the pope a superiority over all the secular priests in England. Wisbich prison would be enlarged all over the kingdom, and the precedent would reach far in the consequence thereof; which increased the secular opposition against this leading case of jurisdiction.

He will not stand to the

17. About this time came to Wisbich an aged

[1] Declaratio Motuum, &c. p. 17.

priest, who had given great testimony of the ability of his judgment and ardency of his affections to the catholic cause, being the general collector of the charitable contributions unto the prisoners [m]; in which place he had been so diligent in gathering, secret in conveying, faithful in delivering, unpartial in dispensing such sums committed unto him, that deservedly he had purchased reputation to himself; who, as he had been a benefactor to both parties, so now he was made an arbitrator betwixt them, with promise of both sides to rest satisfied with his decision. He condemneth the Jesuits guilty of a scandalous separation, and that Weston ought to desist from his superiority; but the Jesuits would not stand to his sentence, confessing their separation scandalous, but only *per accidens*, and therefore not to be left off. And whereas the aforesaid priest had determined that that separation could not be continued without sin, the Jesuits, in derision, demanded of him whether he meant a venial sin or a mortal; and so the whole business took no effect.

A.D. 1594. 37 Eliz. determination of a grave priest chosen umpire.

18. Some months after, two reverend priests, often sent for by both sides, were by joint consent made judges in this cause, who resolved that Weston's agency should be abolished as the original of evil, and seminary of much discord [n]; and because Weston refused to obey their order, these two priests posted up to London, where Garnet, the Jesuits' provincial, did lodge; and from him, with much ado, obtained peremptory letters to Weston, presently to leave off his pretended superiority: a

At last is forced, by letters from his provincial, to leave off his agency.

[m] [Ib. p. 16.]

[n] [Ib. p. 18.]

A. D. 1594. 37 Eliz. message which went to the proud Jesuit's heart, who was formerly heard to say that "he had rather "throw himself headlong from the castle-wall, than "desist from his office [o]." But now there was no remedy, but he must obey, desiring only he might make a speech to his society, exhorting them to unity and concord; and in the midst of his oration, as if he would have surrendered his soul and place both together, he fell speechless into a swoon [p], and hardly recovered again; so mortal a wound it is to a proud heart to part with authority. Thus ended Weston's agency, the short continuance whereof was the best commendation of his command.

The schism, notwithstanding, continues and increases.

19. But this was but a palliate cure, to skin the sore over which festered within. The enmity still continued, seculars complaining that the Jesuits traduced them to lay catholics, as cold and remiss in the cause, only dull to follow beaten paths, not active to invent more compendious ways for the advance of religion. The Jesuits also boasted much of their own merit—how their order, though last starting, had with its speed overtook and overrun all before them. Indeed they are excellent at the art of self-praising, not directly, but by certain consequence; for though no man blazed his own praise, (for one to be a herald to commend himself, the same on the same is false blazon, as well against the rules of modesty as prudence,) yet every one did praise his partner, laying an obligation on him to do the like, who in justice must do as much, and in bounty often did more, gratefully repaying the commendations lent him with interest; and thus

[o] Ib. p. 20. [p] Ibidem.

mutually arching up one another, they filled the ears of all papists with loud relations of the transcendent industry, piety, learning of the men of their society, to the manifest derogation of all other orders. But more of these discords in the year following. A. D. 1595. 38 Eliz.

20. About this time throughout England began the more solemn and strict observation of the Lord's day [q], (hereafter, both in writing and preaching, commonly called the Sabbath,) occasioned by a book this year set forth by one Nicholas Bound, doctor of divinity, (and enlarged with additions anno 1606,) wherein these following opinions are maintained [r]: The strict keeping of the sabbath first revived.

[q] [Burnet, II. 59.]

[r] [The first edition of this book, which is exceedingly rare, (for reasons which will be seen afterwards,) was published at London in 1595, with the following title: "The Doc- "trine of the Sabbath plainly "laid forth, and soundly proved "by testimonies both of holy "Scripture, and also of old "and new Ecclesiastical Writ- "ers; declaring, first, from "what things God would have "us straightly to rest upon the "Lord's Day, and then by "what means we ought pub- "licly and privately to sanctify "the same: together with the "sundry Abuses of our time "in both these kinds, and how "they ought to be reformed. "Divided into two books, by "Nicholas Bownde, Doctor of "Divinity." This edition was dedicated (from Norton in Suffolk) to Robert the unfortunate earl of Essex. In the second edition, which was published in 1606, the title was altered; many material changes were introduced, and it was also considerably enlarged. The dedication to the earl of Essex, and the address to the "Godly and Christian reader," were suppressed; and the first book was now dedicated "To "the Right Reverend Father "in God, and Right Honour- "able Lord Doctor John Je- "gon, Lord Bishop of Nor- "wich;" the second book "To "Humphrey Tyndall, D. D., "Dean of Ely, and Master of "Queen's College in Cam- "bridge."

In some things, perhaps, the writer may have carried his notions too far; but his book in general is written in a truly Christian spirit, and ought by no means to be considered as the fruit of puritan principles. For proof, these extracts may suffice. Speaking of his work, he says, "All this I most wil- "lingly subject unto the judi- "cious and learned censures of "the most *reverend fathers* and

A. D. 1595. 38 Eliz.

i. That the commandment of sanctifying every seventh day, as in the Mosaical Decalogue, is moral and perpetual [s].

ii. That whereas all other things in the Jewish church were taken away, (priesthood, sacrifices, and sacraments,) this sabbath was so changed that it still remaineth [t].

iii. That there is a great reason why we Christians should take ourselves as straitly bound to rest upon the Lord's day, as the Jews were upon their sabbath; for, seeing it is one of the moral commandments, it bindeth us as well as them, for they are all of equal authority [u].

iv. The rest upon this day must be a notable and singular rest, a most careful, exact, and pre-

" grave divines of the church " in these united kingdoms " under the name of Great " Britain; and more particu- " larly the former book unto " your lordship's pen, whom " now the Lord hath made " overseer and judge of all the " learning and manners of the " ministers in Suffolk and " Norfolk; and therefore who " not only is able sufficiently " to decide all controversies " here handled, but also to " whom, by a certain peculiar " right, it belongeth to censure " whatsoever is here uttered." Elsewhere he observes, " If " any thing shall seem new " and strange, and therefore " justly to be suspected, (as " all novelties for the most " part are,) I do desire that " they may be measured not " by the crooked rule of the " common practice of the " world, by which many old " things will seem new, but " altogether by the straight " line of God's word, which " only can give us the full " measure of every thing; " from whence, if the same " thing shall be found to have " authority and antiquity, I " hope upon better advertise- " ments they will be more " reverenced and embraced." See also Isaac Walton's remarks upon him in his Life of Hooker, where he states that Dr. Bound was desired by archbishop Whitgift to accept the mastership of the Temple. p. 28.]

[s] [Epist. Ded.]

[t] Dr. Bound's book of the Sabbath, p. 91.

[u] Ib. p. 247.

cise rest, after another manner than men are accustomed [x]. A.D. 1595. 38 Eliz.

v. Scholars on that day not to study the liberal arts, nor lawyers to consult the case nor peruse men's evidences [y].

vi. Sergeants, apparitors, and sumners to be restrained from executing their offices [z].

vii. Justices not to examine causes for the conservation of the peace [a].

viii. That ringing of more bells than one that day is not to be justified [b].

ix. No solemn feasts nor wedding dinners to be made on that day, with permission, notwithstanding, of the same to [c] lords, knights, and gentlemen [d] of

[x] P. 124. [y] P. 163.
[z] P. 164. [a] P. 166.
[b] P. 202. [After stating that for the congregation to meet at one time some notice must be given, and as the trumpets and horns of the priests and Levites were ordained under the law, so the ringing of bells is of use among us, he proceeds: "Therefore, though "I do not see how the common "jangling of bells that is used "in too many places, and the "disordered ringing at other "times of the sabbath, *and for* "*other ends*, should be a work "of the sabbath, and how it "can then be justified, for "which the late ecclesiastical "canons of our church have "taken order, (Can. 88)—— "yet the ringing of one bell, "according to the custom of "the place at one time, and "the same or some other at "another time——that so all "might be present at the ser- "vice of God from the *begin-* "*ning* to the *ending*, and, as "it is rightly called, 'Common "Prayer'——this end maketh "the labour acceptable unto "God." This latter passage particularly alludes to a custom introduced by the puritans at this time. Not content with writing and speaking against the Common Prayer Book, such of them as had livings were wont to hire a rude and ignorant substitute (the ruder the better) to read the prayers, themselves not attending till the time of the sermon. This practice soon spread among the people, and was attended with infinite injury to the cause of practical piety.]
[c] P. 211.
[d] [This arose from a mistake, as it appears to me, of the author's meaning "concerning the "feasts of noblemen, or their "ordinary diet upon this day,

A.D. 1595. 38 Eliz.

quality; which some conceive not so fair dealing with him [e].

x. All honest recreations and pleasures, lawful on other days, (as shooting, fencing, bowling,) on this day to be forborne [f].

xi. No man to speak or talk of pleasures, or any other worldly matter [g].

It is almost incredible how taking this doctrine was, partly because of its own purity, and partly for the eminent piety of such persons as maintained it; so that the Lord's day, especially in corporations, began to be precisely kept, people becoming a law to themselves, forbearing such sports as yet by statute permitted—yea, many rejoicing at their own restraint herein. On this day the stoutest fencer laid down the buckler, the most skilful archer unbent his bow, counting all shooting besides the mark; May-games and Morish-dances grew out of request; and good reason that bells should be

" which in comparison may be " called feasts;" in speaking of which he alludes to the practice of noblemen of keeping an open table, and the provisions necessary for the large households maintained by the nobility of those times. This is evident from what further follows; for, after commending the custom of some of the foreign reformed churches of having two or more public assemblies in the forenoon, and as many in the afternoon, and advising the nobility of this kingdom to divide the duties of their servants, that all may have an opportunity of attending the churches, he thus proceeds: " And this I can say by expe- " rience of some who for their " religion have borne credit in " the church, and for their " authority have carried some " countenance in the common- " wealth, that on the Lord's " day they have had their tables " both Christianly and wor- " shipfully furnished, without " any hindrance of the worship " of God at all, notwithstand- " ing the number of their daily " retinue and ordinary family " hath been great." p. 212.]

e Pp. 206—209.

f P. 102.

g Pp. 272—274.

silenced from jingling about men's legs, if their very ringing in steeples were adjudged unlawful. Some of them were ashamed of their former pleasures, like children which, grown bigger, blushing themselves out of their rattles and whistles; others forbear them for fear of their superiors; and many left them off out of a politic compliance, lest otherwise they should be accounted licentious. A. D. 1595. 38 Eliz.

21. Yet learned men were much divided in their judgments about these sabbatarian doctrines: some embraced them as ancient truths, consonant to scripture, long disused and neglected, now seasonably revived for the increase of piety; others conceived them grounded on a wrong bottom, but because they tended to the manifest advance of religion it was pity to oppose them, seeing none have just reason to complain, being deceived into their own good; but a third sort flatly fell out with these positions, as galling men's necks with a Jewish yoke, against the liberty of Christians; that Christ, as lord of the sabbath, had removed the rigour thereof, and allowed men lawful recreations; that this doctrine put an unequal lustre on the Sunday, on set purpose to eclipse all other holy days, to the derogation of the authority of the church; that this strict observance was set up out of faction, to be a character of difference, to brand all for libertines who did not entertain it.

22. However, for some years together in this controversy Dr. Bound alone carried the garland away, none offering openly to oppose, and not so much as a feather of a quill in print did wag against him; yea, as he in his second edition observeth, that many both in their preachings, writings, and Thomas Rogers first publicly oppoeth Dr. Bound's opinions.

A. D. 1595. 38 Eliz. disputations did concur with him in that argument; and three several profitable treatises (one made by Mr. Greenham) were within few years successively written by three godly, learned ministers [h]. But the first that gave a check to the full speed of this doctrine was Thomas Rogers, of Horninger in Suffolk, in his preface to the Book of Articles. And now, because our present age begins to dawn, and we come within the view of that truth whose footsteps heretofore we only followed at distance, I will interpose nothing of my own, but of an historian only turn a notary, for the behoof of the reader, faithfully transcribing such passages as we meet with in order of time:

"Notwithstanding, what the brethren wanted in "strength and learning, they had in wiliness; and "though they lost much one way, in the general "and main point of their discipline, yet recovered "they not a little advantage another way, by an odd "and new device of theirs in a special article of "their classical instructions [i]; for while these [the "reformers] worthies of our church were employing "their engines and forces, partly in defending the "present government ecclesiastical, partly in assaulting "the presbytery and new discipline, even at that "very instant the brethren, (knowing themselves "too weak either to overthrow our holds, and that "which we hold, or to maintain their own,) they "abandoned quite the bulwarks which they had "raised, and gave out were impregnable, suffering "us to beat them down without any or very small

[h] Dr. Bound, in his Preface to the Reader, second edition.

[i] Rogers's Preface to the Articles, §. 20.

"resistance; and yet, not careless of their affairs, A.D. 1595. 38 Eliz.
"left not the wars for all that, but from an odd
"corner and after a new fashion which we little
"thought of, (such was their cunning,) set upon us
"afresh again, by dispersing in printed books (which
"for ten years' space before they had been in ham-
"mering among themselves to make them complete)
"their sabbath speculations and presbyterian (that
"is, more than either kingly or popely) directions
"for the observation of the Lord's day."

And in the next page he proceedeth, "[k] It is a
"comfort unto my soul, and will be till my dying
"hour, that I have been the man and the means
"that the sabbatarian errors and impieties are
"brought into light and knowledge of the state;
"whereby, whatsoever else, sure I am this good
"hath ensued, namely, that the said books of the
"sabbath, comprehending the above-mentioned, and
"many moe such fearful and heretical assertions,
"hath been both called in and forbidden any more
"to be printed and made common. Your grace's
"predecessor, archbishop Whitgift, by his letters and
"officers at synods and visitations, anno 1599, did
"the one; and sir John Popham, lord chief justice
"of England, at Bury St. Edmund's in Suffolk, anno
"1600, did the other[l]."

But, though both minister and magistrate jointly endeavoured to suppress Bound's book, with the doctrine therein contained, yet all their care did

[k] Idem, §. 23.

[l] [The sabbatarian doctrine was carried to extremes, and abused by the puritans to serve their own purposes; but their absurdities ought not to be charged upon Dr. Bound's book.]

A.D. 1595. 38 Eliz. but for the present make the Sunday set in a cloud, to arise soon after in more brightness. As for the archbishop, his known opposition to the proceedings of the brethren rendered his actions more odious, as if out of envy he had caused such a pearl to be concealed. As for judge Popham, though some conceived it most proper for his place to punish felonious doctrines, (which robbed the queen's subjects of their lawful liberty,) and to behold them branded with a mark of infamy, yet others accounted him no competent judge in this controversy; and though he had a dead hand against offenders, yet these sabbatarian doctrines, though condemned by him, took the privilege to pardon themselves, and were published more generally than before. The price of the doctor's book began to be doubled, as commonly books are then most called on, when called in, and many who hear not of them when printed inquire after them when prohibited; and though the book's wings were clipped from flying abroad in print, it ran the faster from friend to friend in transcribed copies; and the Lord's day, in most places, was most strictly observed. The more liberty people were offered, the less they used it, refusing to take the freedom authority tendered them; for the vulgar sort have the actions of their superiors in constant jealousy, suspecting each gate of their opening to be a trap, every hole of their digging to be a mine, wherein some secret train is covertly conveyed, to the blowing up of the subject's liberty, which made them almost afraid of the recreations of the Lord's day allowed them; and seeing it is the greatest pleasure to the mind of man to do what he pleaseth, it was sport for them to refrain

from sports, whilst the forbearance was in themselves voluntary, arbitrary, and elective—not imposed upon them. Yea, six years after, Bound's book came forth with enlargements, publicly sold; and scarce any comment, catechism, or controversy was set forth by the stricter divines, wherein this doctrine (the diamond in this ring) was not largely pressed and proved; so that, as one saith, "the "sabbath itself had no rest;" for now all strange and unknown writers, without further examination, passed for friends and favourites of the presbyterian party, who could give the word, and had any thing in their treatise tending to the strict observation of the Lord's day. But more hereof (God willing) in the fifteenth year of king James. A.D. 1595. 38 Eliz.

23. Now also began some opinions about predestination, free-will, perseverance, &c., much to trouble both the schools and pulpit; whereupon archbishop Whitgift, out of his Christian care to propagate the truth and suppress the opposite errors, caused a solemn meeting of many grave and learned divines at Lambeth, where, besides the archbishop, Richard Bancroft [m], bishop of London, Richard Vaughan, bishop elect of Bangor, Humphrey Tindal, dean of Ely, Dr. Whittaker, queen's professor in Cambridge, and others, were assembled. These, after a serious debate and mature deliberation, resolved at last on the now following Articles [n]: The Articles of Lambeth.

[m] [Richard Fletcher, says Heylyn more correctly; for Bancroft was not made bishop of London till 1597. See some further remarks on this subject in Heylyn's History of the Presbyterians, p. 340. Examen Historicum, p. 165. History of the Quinquarticular Controversy, in his collection of tracts; and in Keble's Introduction to Hooker.]

[n] [Assheton's Life of Whittaker, p. 43.]

A.D. 1595. 38 Eliz.

1. Deus ab æterno prædestinavit quosdam ad vitam: quosdam reprobavit ad mortem.

2. Causa movens aut efficiens prædestinationis ad vitam non est prævisio fidei, aut perseverantiæ, aut bonorum operum, aut ullius rei quæ insit in personis prædestinatis, sed sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei.

3. Prædestinatorum præfinitus et certus est numerus, qui nec augeri nec minui potest.

4. Qui non sunt prædestinati ad salutem, necessario propter peccata sua damnabuntur.

5. Vera, viva et justificans fides, et Spiritus Dei justificantis, non extinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit in electis [o], aut finaliter, aut totaliter.

6. Homo vere fidelis, id est, fide justificante præditus, certus est plerophoria fidei de remissione peccatorum suorum, et salute sempiterna sua per Christum.

1. God from eternity hath predestinated certain men unto life; certain men he hath reprobated.

2. The moving or efficient cause of predestination unto life, is not the foresight of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of any thing that is in the person predestinated, but only the good-will and pleasure of God.

3. There is predetermined a certain number of the predestinate, which can neither be augmented or diminished.

4. Those who are not predestinated to salvation shall be necessarily damned for their sins.

5. A true, living, and justifying faith, and the Spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, falleth not away; it vanisheth not away in the elect, either finally or totally.

6. A man truly faithful, that is, such an one who is endued with a justifying faith, is certain, with the full assurance of faith, of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ.

[o] [Als. "*in iis qui semel ejus participes fuerunt.*"]

7. Gratia salutaris [p], non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur universis hominibus, qua servari possint, si velint.

8. Nemo potest venire ad Christum, nisi datum ei fuerit, et nisi Pater eum traxerit, et omnes homines non trahuntur a Patre ut veniant ad Filium.

9. Non est positum in arbitrio aut potestate uniuscujusque hominis servari.

7. Saving grace is not given, is not granted, is not communicated to all men, by which they may be saved if they will. A.D. 1595. 38 Eliz.

8. No man can come unto Christ unless it shall be given unto him, and unless the Father shall draw him; and all men are not drawn by the Father, that they may come to the Son.

9. It is not in the will or power of every one to be saved [q].

[p] [Als. "*sufficiens ad salutem.*"]

[q] [A history of these Articles, with the judgment of bishop Overall and bishop Andrews thereon, was published from an early MS., (which, as I suspect, was written by bishop Cosins,) and inserted in an Appendix to an edition of the XXXIX. Articles by Dr. Ellis; reprinted by Ran. Ford in 1720. According to this paper, Dr. Baro was first startled by the paradoxes which Whittaker held; the former asserting that *justifying faith and grace might sometimes be lost*, which Whittaker denied; and with regard to the question *of the assurance of salvation in the regenerate*, Whittaker holding an *absolute* certainty *of belief*, Baro an assurance of hope only. The same writer also states that these Articles were first drawn up by Whittaker, in a more stringent form, but afterwards modified at the conference; that they were passed, chiefly in the absence of their most strenuous opposers, and with the reluctant concurrence of the archbishop, who, vexed with the ceaseless disquiet of the church, was greatly desirous of putting an end to the strife which seemed to threaten it with a new convulsion.

When the queen heard of the matter, of which she was informed by Burleigh, the chancellor of the university, she immediately sent for the archbishop, and with much of her characteristic and laconic style addressed him in these words: "I hear, my lord archbishop," she said, "that you are collect-" ing a treasure, and intend to "make me rich." The archbishop, not understanding the jest, replied, "That indeed he "was not very rich, and pos-" sessed no great property, but "that such as he had was at

A. D. 1595. 38 Eliz. Matthew Hutton, the right reverend archbishop of York, did also fully and freely in his judgment concur with these divines, as may appear by his letter, here inserted:

"Accepi jam pridem literas tuas (reverendissime "præsul) veteris illius benevolentiæ, et amoris erga "me tui plenas, in quibus efflagitas opinionem meam "de Articulis quibusdam nuper Cantabrigiæ agitatis, "non sine aliqua piorum offensione, qui graviter, "molesteque ferunt matrem academiam, jam multi- "tudine liberorum et quidem doctissimorum floren- "tem, ea dissentione filiorum nonnihil contristatam "esse. Sed fieri non potest, quin veniant offendi- "cula, neque desinet inimicus homo inter triticum "zizania seminare, donec eum Dominus sub pedi- "bus contriverit. Legi Articulos et relegi, et dum "pararem aliquid de singulis dicere, visum est mihi "multo potius de ipsa electione et reprobatione, "(unde illa dissentio orta esse videtur,) meam sen- "tentiam et opinionem paucis verbis explicare, quam "singulis sigillatim respondens fratrum forsitan quo- "rundam animas, (quos in veritate diligo,) exacer- "bare. Meminisse potes (ornatissime antistes) cum

"her majesty's service." "Ah! "my lord," she replied, "you "imagine that you are very "obliging in making this offer; "but what you profess to re- "sign, as a matter of civility, "I claim as a matter of right "by the laws of the land. My "lord archbishop, you have in- "curred the guilt of *præmu-* "*nire*." The archbishop, not a little startled, then began to explain to the queen that the framers of the Articles had no intention to give them any public authority; that they had been drawn up merely as articles of peace. But some courtiers standing by accused the archbishop with the fact of having sent them to Cambridge with an official character. In the end the archbishop, seeing how the matter was likely to end, resolved to suppress them; and this was accordingly done.]

" Cantabrigiæ una essemus et sacras literas in scholis A.D. 1595.
" publicis interpretaremur, eandem regulam seculi 38 Eliz.
" eam semper fuisse inter nos consensionem in om-
" nibus religionis causis, et ne minima quidem vel
" dissentionis, vel simultatis suspicio unquam appa-
" reret. Igitur hoc tempore si judicio dominationis
" tuæ, id quod pingui Minerva scripsi probatum ire
" intellexero, multo mihi minus displacebo. Deus
" te diutissime servet incolumem, ut tum Reginæ
" serenissimæ et toti regno fidelissimus consiliarius,
" tum etiam ecclesiæ huic nostræ Anglicanæ pastor
" utilissimus multos adhuc annos esse possis. Vale,
" e musæo meo apud Bishop-Thorp. Calend. Octob.
" Anno Dom. 1595."

24. But when these Articles came abroad into the world, men's brains and tongues (as since their pens) were employed about the authority of the same, and the obedience due unto them; much puzzled to find the new place where rightly to rank them in reputation; how much above the results and resolutions of private divines, and how much beneath the authority of a provincial synod; some there that almost equalled their authenticalness with the acts of a synod, requiring the like conformity of men's judgments unto them. They endeavoured to prove that those divines met not alone in their private capacities, but also representing others, alleging this passage in a public letter from Cambridge[r], subscribed with the hands of the heads of that university: " We sent up to London by com-

The high opinions some had of these Articles.

[r] See it cited at large in our History of Cambridge, anno 1595.

A. D. 1595. 38 Eliz. "mon consent, in November last, Dr. Tyndall and "Dr. Whittaker, (men especially chosen for that "purpose,) for conference with my lord of Canter- "bury and other principal divines there," &c.

Others value them at a lower rate.

25. Others maintain the contrary; for, grant each man in this conference at Lambeth one of a thousand for learning and religion, yet was he but one in power and place, and had no proxy or deputation (the two Cambridge doctors excepted) to appear in the behalf of others; and therefore their determinations, though of great use to direct, could be but of little authority to conclude and command the consent of others.

Some flatly condemned both the Articles and authors of them.

26. But a third sort, offended with the matter of the Articles, thought that the two archbishops and the rest at this meeting deserved censure for holding an unlawful conventicle; for they had not express command from the queen to meet, debate, and decide such controversies. Those of the opposite party were not solemnly summoned and heard; so that it might seem rather a design to crush them, than clear the truth. The meeting was warranted with no legal authority—rather a private action of doctor John Whitgift, doctor Matthew Hutton, &c., than the public act of the archbishops of Canterbury and York [s]. One goeth further, to affirm that those Articles of Lambeth were afterwards forbidden by public authority; but when, where, and by whom, he is not pleased to impart unto us [t]. And strange

[s] Mr. Montague, in his Appeal, pp. 55, 71, 72.

[t] [Perhaps Dr. Heylyn is here meant, who states that the queen was so exceedingly offended at this innovation on her prerogative, that she threatened to have these divines attainted in a *præmunire;* but her anger was mitigated

it is that a public prohibition should be whispered so softly, that this author alone should hear it, and none other, to my knowledge, take notice thereof. A. D. 1595. 38 Eliz.

27. As for foreign divines, just as they were by the interference of some friends of the archbishop. Whitgift defended his conduct upon this ground: "that he "and his associates had not "made any canons, articles, or "decrees, with an intent that "they should serve hereafter "for a standing rule to direct "the church, but only had re- "solved on some propositions "to be sent to Cambridge for "quieting some unhappy dif- "ferences in that university." "With which answer her ma- "jesty, being somewhat paci- "fied, commanded notwith- "standing that he should "speedily recall and suppress "those articles; which was "performed with such care "and diligence, that a copy of "them was not to be found "for a long time after." Heylyn's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 341. This account of these Articles is supported by original documents. See note, p. 223. In his Certamen Epistolare, p. 178, Heylyn also further observes, that "the bishop, "(Montague,) living in Cam- "bridge at that time, might "hear it amongst many others, "though none but he were "pleased to give notice of it "when it came in question; "and, secondly, the noise "thereof did spread so far, "that it was heard into the "Low Countries; the making "of these Articles, the queen's "displeasure when she heard "it, her strict command to "have them speedily sup- "pressed, and the actual sup- "pression of them, being all "laid down distinctly in a "book published by the Re- "monstrants in Holland, en- "titled *Necessaria Responsio*, "and printed at Leyden, 1618, "almost seven years before "the coming out of Moun- "tague's book." Montague seems to speak from personal knowledge, see his Appeal, &c., p. 71. The bishops, also, who were appointed in the commencement of the reign of Charles I. to examine Montague's book, and to report whether it contained doctrines of dangerous tendency, in their letter to the duke upon that occasion state, upon their certain knowledge, that the queen caused the Lambeth Articles to be suppressed; "and so they "have continued ever since," they affirm, "till of late some "of them have received coun- "tenance at the synod of Dort. "And our hope is that the "church of England will be "well advised, and more than "once over, before she admit "a foreign synod, especially of "such a church as condemneth "her discipline and manner of "government, to say no more." Cabala, p. 105. See also Playfere's Appeal, p. 10, ed. 1719.]

How variously

A. D. 1595. 38 Eliz.

foreign divines esteemed of them.

biassed in judgment, so on that side ran their affections, in raising or decrying the esteem of these Articles: some printed [u], set forth, and cited them [x], as the sense of the church of England; others as fast slighted them, as the narrow positions of a few private and partial persons. As for Corvinus, as we know not whence he had his intelligence, so we find no just ground for what he reporteth, that archbishop Whitgift for his pains incurred the queen's displeasure and a *præmunire* [y]. We presume this foreigner better acquainted with the imperial law and local customs of Holland, than with our municipal statutes and the nature of a *præmunire*. Indeed there goes a tradition, that the queen should in merriment say jestingly to the archbishop, "My "lord, I now shall want no money, for I am informed "all your goods are forfeited unto me by your call-"ing a council without my consent." But how much of truth herein God knows. And be it referred to our learned in the law, whether, without danger of such a censure, the two archbishops, by virtue of their place, had not any implicit leave from the queen to assemble divines for the clearing, declaring, and asserting of difficult truths, provided they innovate or alter nothing in matters of religion [z].

[u] Thysius twice printed them at Hardrovick, anno 1613.

[x] Bogerman in his 107 and 108 notes on the second part of Grotius.

[y] In his answer to the notes of Bogerman, second part, pag. 566, and so forward to pag. 570.

[z] ["As for the Lambeth "Articles, they were not only "subscribed unto by Dr. Over-"all, but (as appears by a let-"ter written from the bishop "of Canterbury to Dr. Goad) "were shewn by the said "bishop unto Dr. Baro, who, "although he seemed to make "some frivolous and childish "objections against one or two

28. And now I perceive I must tread tenderly, because I go not, as before, on men's graves, but am ready to touch the quick of some yet alive. I know how dangerous it is to follow truth too near to the heels; yet better it is that the teeth of an historian be struck out of his head for writing the truth, than that they remain still and rot in his jaws, by feeding too much on the sweetmeats of flattery. All that I will say of the credit of these Articles is this: that as medals of gold and silver, though they will not pass in payment for current coin, because not stamped with the king's inscription, yet they will go with goldsmiths for as much as they are in weight; so, though these Articles want authentic reputation to pass for provincial acts, as lacking sufficient authority, yet will they be readily received of orthodox Christians for as far as their own purity bears conformity to God's word. And though those learned divines be not acknowledged as competent judges to pass definitive sentence in those points, yet they will be taken as witnesses beyond exception, whose testimony is an infallible evidence what was the general and received doctrine of England in that age about the forenamed controversies.

A. D. 1595. 38 Eliz.

These Articles excellent witnesses of the general doctrine of England.

29. This year ended the life, first, of doctor Wil- Bishop Wickham,

" of them only, yet he did confess that they were all true; and added thereunto that they did not impugn any of his assertions. These are the express words in the archbishop's letter; and to say the truth, if Dr. Baro his sermon contained no worse matter than is comprised in his assertions which you enclose in your letter, he might well avouch that they were not contradictory to the Lambeth Articles." March 6, 1628. Dr. Davenant to Dr. Ward. (MS.) See Baro's own statements in his letter to Nic. Hemmings, in Epist. Remonstrant. p. 29, ed. 1684.]

A.D. 1595. 38 Eliz.

Dr. Whittaker, Daniel Halseworth, and Robert Southwell end their lives.

liam Wickham, bred in King's College in Cambridge, first bishop of Lincoln, after of Winchester, whose namesake, William Wickham, in the reign of king Edward the Third, sat in the same see more years than this did weeks. Indeed we know little of his life, but so much of his death as we must not mention it without some pity to him, whilst in pain, and praise to God for our own health; such was his torture with the stone before his death, that for fourteen days together he made not water [a]. Secondly, worthy doctor William Whittaker, whose larger character we reserve (God willing) for our History of Cambridge [b]. And amongst the Romanists Daniel Halseworth, who, as Pitzeus [c] describes him, (papists give no scant measure in praising those of their own party,) was well skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew—an elegant poet, eloquent orator, acute philosopher, expert mathematician, deep-studied lawyer, and excellent divine. Flying from England, he lived successively in Savoy, Rome, and Milan, having too many professions to gather wealth; and with all his arts and parts, both lived in poverty and died in obscurity. More eminent, but more infamous, was the death of Robert Southwell [d], a Jesuit, born in Suffolk [e], bred beyond the seas, where he wrote abundance of books; who, returning into England, was executed March the third for a traitor, at London, and honoured for a martyr amongst men of his own religion.

[a] Godwin, De Præsul. Angl. p. 240.

[b] [See Hist. of Cambridge, p. 151.]

[c] In Vita, p. 794. [He was a great friend of the excellent Borromeo, who made use of him in governing his diocese.]

[d] [See a very interesting account of his life and death in More's Hist. Soc. Jesu, p. 172; and in Tanner's Soc. Jesu, &c., p. 30.]

[e] Idem ibidem.

30. The secular priests continued their complaints, as against Jesuits in general, so particularly against Robert Parsons [f]. This Parsons, about eighteen years since, was in England, where, by his statizing and dangerous activity, he had so incensed the queen's council, that the secular priests made him a main occasion why such sharp laws were so suddenly made against catholics in England [g]. But no sooner did danger begin to appear, but away went Parsons beyond the seas; wherein some condemned his cowardliness, and others commended his policy, seeing such a commander in chief as he was in the Romish cause ought to repose his person in safety, and might be nevertheless virtually present in the fight, by the issuing out of his orders to meaner officers. Nor did Parsons, like a wheeling cock, turn aside with intent to return, but ran quite out of the cockpit, and then crowed in triumph, when he was got on his own dunghill, safely resident in the city of Rome. Here he compiled and hence he dispatched many letters and libels into England, and, amongst the rest, that book of the succession to the English, (entitling the Spaniard thereunto,) setting it forth under the false name of Doleman [h], an honest, harmless secular priest, and his professed adversary. And surely Parsons was a fit fellow to derive the pedigree of the kings of England, who might first have studied to deduce his own descent from a lawful father, being himself (otherwise called Cowbuck) "*filius populi et filius peccati*," as catholics

A. D. 1596. 39 Eliz.

The complaint of the seculars against the Jesuits, and principally against Parsons.

[f] [These dissensions of the Jesuits and secular priests commenced in 1597, and lasted till 1603.]

[g] Declaratio Motuum, &c., ad Clementem VIII. p. 24.

[h] Camden's Eliz. in anno 1594. [Wood's Ath. II. 71.]

A.D. 1596. 39 Eliz. have observed[i]. Many letters also he sent over, full of threats, and assuring his party that the land would be invaded by foreigners; writing therein not what he knew or thought was, but what he desired and endeavoured should be true. Some of these letters, being intercepted, made the queen's officers (as they had just cause) more strict in searching, as her judges more severe in punishing the papists. Hereupon the seculars complained that such proceedings against them (termed persecution by them, and justice by our state) was caused by the Jesuits; and that Parsons especially, though he had kindled the fire, left others to bear the heat thereof[k]; yea, which was more, he was not himself contented to sleep in a whole skin at Rome, but lashed others of his own religion; and having got his neck out of the collar, accused others for not drawing weight enough, taxing the seculars as dull and remiss in

[i] Watson's Quodlibets, pp. 109 and 236.

[k] [Thus Colleton, in his "Just Defence," &c. p. 170, addresses him: "We assure "ourselves, father Parsons, that "your restless spirit and pen, "your enterprising and busy "actions, have turned hereto- "fore our catholic professants "to infinite prejudice; for to "no known cause can we im- "pute so much the making of "the severe laws of our coun- "try, as to your edging at- "tempts and provocations." And in another place, after observing that the mischievous and restless spirit of this Jesuit had given just offence to the queen's government, and brought the whole body of the Roman catholics into suspicion, he observes: "Neither "is father Parsons holden only "of our magistrate for a statist, "or merchandiser of the crown "and diadem, but his travels "and negotiations this way are "become so notoriously known, "that even Pasquin in Rome "(as intelligence is sent us) "speaketh in this manner of "him: 'IF THERE BE ANY "MAN THAT WILL BUY THE "KINGDOM OF ENGLAND, LET "HIM REPAIR TO A MERCHANT "IN A BLACK SQUARE CAP IN "THE CITY, AND HE SHALL "HAVE A VERY GOOD PENNY- "WORTH THEREOF." Ib. p. 241.]

the cause of religion; and, to speak plainly, they differed as hot and cold poison—the Jesuits more active and pragmatical, the seculars more slow and heavy; but both maintaining treacherous principles, destructive to the commonwealth. A. D. 1596. 39 Eliz.

31. If we look now on the nonconformists, we shall find them all still and quiet. After a storm, comes a calm: wearied with a former blustering, they began now to repose themselves in a sad silence, especially since the execution of Udal and Penry had so terrified them, that though they might have secret designs, we meet not their open and public motions; so that this century affordeth little more than the mortalities of some eminent men. A general calm.

32. We begin with Richard Fletcher[1], bishop of London, bred in Bennet College in Cambridge, one of a comely person and goodly presence, qualities not to be cast away in a bishop, though a bishop not to be chosen for them. He loved to ride the great horse, and had much skill in managing thereof; condemned for very proud (such his natural stately garb) by such as knew him not, and commended for humility by those acquainted with him. He lost the queen's favour because of his second unhappy match, and died suddenly, more of grief than any other disease. With him let me couple another heart-broken bishop, John Coldwell of Salisbury, doctor of physic, (St. Luke, we know, was both an evangelist and physician,) who never enjoyed himself after he had The death of bishop Fletcher and bishop Coldwell.

[1] [He was uncle to the celebrated poets, Giles and Phineas Fletcher. See some account of him in Wood's Fasti I. 107, and in sir J. Harrington's Nugæ, II. 41. According to bishop Goodman, he was promoted for his conduct at the execution of Mary queen of Scots.]

A. D. 1596 39 Eliz. consented (though little better than surprised thereunto [m]) to the alienation of Sherborne manor from the bishopric.

The death of Laurence Humphrey.

33. Here I am at a loss for the date of the death of Laurence Humphrey, but confident I hit the but, though miss the mark, as about this time [n]. He was a conscientious and moderate nonconformist, (condemned for lukewarm by such as were scalding hot,) dean of Winchester, and master of Magdalen College in Oxford, to which he bequeathed a considerable sum of gold, left in a chest, not to be opened except some great necessity urged thereunto [o]. But lately, whilst Dr. John Wilkinson was president of the college, this gold was shared between him and the fellows; and though one must charitably believe the matter not so bad as it is

[m] [By the wily intrigues of a very dishonest man, sir Walter Raleigh. See an account of this affair in Harrington's Nugæ Antiquæ, II. p. 124.]

[n] [Fuller has corrected this error at a later period of his history. Humphrey died in 1590. See Wood's Athen. I. 242.]

[o] [Dr. Heylyn, who was once a member of this college, asserts that Dr. Humphrey was not the author of this benefaction, which amounted to above twelve hundred double pistolets; "the old doctor (Wilkin-" son) having no fewer than " one hundred for his share of " the spoils, and every fellow " thirty apiece for theirs : " each pistolet exchanged at " 16*s*. 6*d*., and yet the ex-" changer got well by the bar-" gain too." "The money, as " the tradition went in that " college, was left there by the " founder to remedy and re-" pair such ruins as either the " casualty of fire or the ravages " of a civil war might bring " upon it; to which the nature " of the coin, being all French " pieces, (remember that the " English at that time were " masters of a great part of " France,) gives a further tes-" timony." The Appeal, &c., l. III. p. 73. Dr. Wilkinson was one of the presidents put in by the visitors in the time of the Cromwellites; but Fuller says that he had heard and did partly believe that the doctor did strenuously oppose this seizure of the gold, though it was never returned. See The Appeal, ib. p. 74.]

reported, yet the most favourable relation thereof gave a general distaste [p]. A. D. 1596. 39 Eliz.

A great antiquary's good intention discouraged.

34. Sure I am a great antiquary, lately deceased, (rich as well in his state as learning,) at the hearing hereof, quitted all his intentions of benefaction to Oxford or any place else, on suspicion it would be diverted to other uses [q], on the same token that he merrily said, "I think the best way for a man to "perpetuate his memory is to procure the pope to "canonize him for a saint, for then he shall be sure "to be remembered in their calendar; whereas "otherwise I see all protestant charity subject to the "covetousness of posterity to devour it, and bury "the donor thereof in oblivion."

The charity of a Spanish protestant.

35. Mr. Balthazar Zanches, a Spaniard, born in Sherez in Estremadura, founded an almshouse at Tottenham-high-cross in Middlesex, for eight single people, allowing them competent maintenance. Now, seeing protestant founders are rare, Spanish protestants rarer, Spanish protestant founders in England rarest, I could not pass this over with silence; nor must we forget that he was the first confectioner or comfit-maker in England, bringing that mystery to London; and, as I am informed, the exactness thereof continues still in his family, in which respect they have successively been the queen's and king's confectioners [r].

[p] [It appears to have been a very scandalous business, although Hickman attempted a very blundering defence of it. See also Heylyn's reply to his statement, in his Certamen Epistolare, p. 133.]

[q] [Selden refused to give his books to the university upon this account, according to our author; in which statement he is supported by Heylyn. Cert. Epistolare, p. 133.]

[r] [Upon the parliamentary proceedings at this time, see D'Ewes' Journal, p. 538.]

A. D. 1597. 40 Eliz.

36. A parliament held at Westminster, wherein the deprivation of popish bishops in the first of this queen's reign was declared legal. Some will wonder what need is of this statute at so many years distance, but the preface intimates the necessity thereof. The legality, also, of our bishops and their officers was again by act of parliament confirmed. And whereas there was a pretended concealment of some lands of the bishopric of Norwich, the same by act of parliament were settled on that see, and the exchange of lands ratified, made in the reign of king Henry the Eighth. The contemporary convocation did nothing of moment.

The acts in the parliament.

The death of Thomas Stapleton.

37. Thomas Stapleton this year ended his life, and was buried at St. Peter's church in Louvain [s]. It is written in his epitaph, "*Qui Cicestriæ in Anglia* "*nobili loco natus;*" where *Cicestriæ* is taken not for the city, but diocese of Chichester, having otherwise good assurance that he was born at Hemfield in Sussex, the same year and month wherein sir Thomas More was beheaded [t], observed by the catholics as a grand providence. He was a most learned assertor of the Romish religion, wanting nothing but a true cause to defend. On one account I am beholding unto him, viz., for dissuading Pitzeus from being a soldier to be a scholar [u], whose history of our English writers hath so often been useful unto me.

The death of Dr. Cosin.

38. Richard Cosin [x], doctor of the law and dean of the Arches, this year ended his life—one of the

[s] [See more of him in Wood's Athen. I. 291; and his life, by Henry Holland, prefixed to Stapleton's Works.]

[t] Pitz. in Vita, p. 796.

[u] Idem ibidem.

[x] [See his Life, by Wm. Barton, B. D., printed in 1598.]

greatest civilians which our age or nation hath produced, a most moderate man in his own nature, but most earnest assertor of the ecclesiastical discipline, as by his printed works doth appear. A. D. 1598. 41 Eliz.

39. Robert Turner his death was now much bemoaned by the papists [y]. He was born at Barnstaple in Devon, bred for a while in Oxford; whence, flying beyond the seas, he became canon of Breslau in Silesia, and at the same time privy counsellor to the duke of Bavaria, falling afterward into his displeasure, probably because more pragmatical than became a foreigner; however, Ferdinand of Gratz (afterwards emperor) took him from the duke to be his own secretary for the Latin tongue, wherein he excelled, as by his printed orations doth appear. He lieth buried at Gratz, under a handsome monument [z]. The death of Robert Turner.

40. Great was the grief of protestants for the decease of Richard Hooker [a], Turner's countryman, as born also in Devonshire, and bred in Corpus Christi College in Oxford, living and dying a single man, of whom largely before. His innocency survived to triumph over those aspersions which the malice of others (advantaged by his own dove-like simplicity) had cast upon him. I am informed sir Edwin Sands hath erected a monument over him, in his parish church in Kent, where he lieth interred [b]. The death of Richard Hooker.

[y] [Pitz. in Vita, p. 798.]

[z] [See an account of him in Wood's Athen. I. 297. His opuscula have been published at various times, both at Ingolstadt and Cologne. He was a disciple of Campion, of whose death he has given some account in his works. Vol. II. p. 276, ed. 1625.]

[a] [There are some doubts about the date of his death. It seems certain, however, that he died in 1600. See Walton's Lives, p. 247, ed. Major, 1825. Keble's ed. p. 90.]

[b] ["Here I must retract," says Fuller in his Worthies, "two passages in my Church "History; for whereas I re-

A.D. 1599. 42 Eliz.

An over-politic act disliked.

41. I cannot omit what I find in this year, in Mr. Camden his manuscript Life of Queen Elizabeth[c]. A report was cast out by our politicians, in the midst of harvest, of the danger of a present foreign invasion—done out of design, to prevent the popularity of the earl of Essex, and to try the people's inclinations. Instantly all were put into a posture of defence: mowers, reapers, all harvest-folk, left their work to be employed in musters. This afterwards appeared but a court project, whereat the country took much distaste; so ill it is to jest with edged tools, especially with scythes and sickles. My author addeth, that people affirmed that such May-games had been fitter in the spring, (when sports were used amongst the Romans to Flora,) and not in the autumn, when people were seriously employed to fetch in the fruits of the earth; but, by his leave, these expressions flow from critics, and fly far above the capacities of countrymen.

The death of John Sanderson and John Case.

42. This century concluded the lives of two eminent Roman catholics: John Sanderson, born in Lancashire, bred in Trinity College in Cambridge, where he set forth an excellent logic, called San-

" ported Mr. Hooker to die a " bachelor, he had wife and " children, though indeed such " as were neither to his com- " fort when living, nor credit " when dead. But parents can- " not stamp their children from " their heads or hearts." This information Fuller professes to have received from Hooker's sister, lately living at Hogsden (Hoxton) near London; and the last statement corresponds with what Ben Jonson observes in Drummond's Journal, p. 10, that his " children are now " beggars."

" Secondly, his monument " was not erected by sir Edwin " Sandys, a person as probable " as any man alive for such a " performance, but by sir Wil- " liam Cooper, now living in " the castle of Hertford; and " let the good knight have the " due commendation thereof." III. 424.]

[c] Which shortly will be set forth in a new edition. [Since published at various times.]

derson's Logic, forty years ancienter than that which his worthy namesake of Oxford (of a different judgment in religion) hath since printed on the same subject[d]. From Cambridge he fled to Cambray in Artois, where he lived with good comfort, and died with great credit with those of his own persuasion. The other, John Case, of St. John's in Oxford, doctor of physic, it seems always a Romanist in his heart, but never expressing the same till his mortal sickness seized upon him. A. D. 1600. 43 Eliz.

[d] [Pitz. in Vita, pp. 799 and 800.]

THE

CHURCH HISTORY

OF

BRITAIN.

THE TENTH BOOK,

CONTAINING THE REIGN OF KING JAMES.

TO

THE HONOURABLE

ROBERT LORD BRUCE[a],

SOLE SON TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THOMAS EARL OF ELGIN.

AVING, by God's assistance, drawn down my History to the death of queen Elizabeth, some dissuade me from continuing it any further; be-ıse, that as St. Peter out of wariness (*alias* cow-lliness) followed Christ, who was the truth, *afar* [b], so they lay this down for a maxim, that the ry of modern times must not be written by any ve; — a position, in my poor opinion, both dis-ıceful to historians and prejudicial to posterity.

Disgraceful to historians: as if they would make ɔmselves like unto the beasts of the forest, as ıaractered by David, *who move in the darkness, till sun ariseth, and they get them away* [c]; loving

[a] [Afterwards earl of Ailes-y. He was one of the lords t to the Hague to welcome Charles II.]

[b] Matt. xxvi. 58.

[c] Psalm civ. 20, 22.

to write of things done at distance, where obscurity may protect their mistakes from discovery, but putting up their pens as soon as the day dawns of modern times, and they within the reach of refutation.

Prejudicial to posterity: seeing intentions in this nature, long delayed, are at last defeated. [c] The young man, moved by his mother to marry, returned, that as yet it was too soon; and, some years after, pleaded that now it was too late. So some say, truth is not ripe enough to be written in the age we live in; which proveth rotten too much for the next generation faithfully to report, when the impresses of memorable matters are almost worn out; the histories then written having more of the author's hand than footsteps of truth therein.

Sure I am the most informative histories to posterity, and such as are most highly prized by the judicious, are such as were written by the eyewitnesses thereof,—as Thucydides, the reporter of the Peloponnesian war.

However, one may observe such as write the story of their own times, like the two messengers which carried tidings to David: of these, Ahimaaz (sent the rather by permission than injunction) only told David what he knew would please him, acquainting him with his victory. But being demanded of his son's death, he made a tale of a tumult [d], (no better

[c] Plutarch in his Morals. [d] 2 Sam. xviii. 29.

than an officious lie for himself,) the issue whereof was to him unknown.

Cushi, the other messenger, had in his carriage less of cunning and more of conscience, informing the king of his son's death, but folding it up in a fair expression: *The enemies of my lord the king, and all that rise against thee to do thee hurt, be as that young man is* [e].

Ahimaaz is imitated by such historians, who leave that unwritten which they suspect will be unwelcome. These, following the rule *summa lex salus authoris*, when they meet with any necessary but dangerous truth, pass it over with a blank, flourished up with some ingenious evasion.

Such writers succeed to plain Cushi in their relations, who give a true account of actions, and, to avoid all exasperating terms, (which may make a bad matter worse in relating it,) use the most lenitive language in expressing distasteful matter, adventuring with their own danger to procure the information of others. Truly one is concerned in conscience to transmit to the next age some short intimations of these times, out of fear that records are not so carefully kept in these so many and sudden changes, as they were in former ages.

I know Machiavel was wont to say, "that he "who undertakes to write a history, must be of no

[e] 2 Sam. xviii. 32.

" religion." If so, he himself was the best qualified of any in his age to be a good historian.

But I believe his meaning was much better than his words; intending therein, that a writer of histories must not discover his inclination in religion, to the prejudice of truth: Levi-like, who said to his father and mother, *I have not seen them;* owning no acquaintance of any relations.

This I have endeavoured to my utmost in this Book; knowing, as that oil is adjudged the best that hath no taste at all, so that historian is preferred who hath the least tang of partial reflections.

However, some candour of course is due to such historians (wherein the courtesy not so great in giving as the injury in detaining it) which run the chiding of these present times, in hope that after-ages may excuse them. And I am confident that these my labours shall find the same favour, (which may be in mere men, should be in all gentlemen, must be in true Christians,) the rather because this Book appeareth patronized by a dedication to your honour.

I have selected your lordship for a patron to this part of my History, wherein the reign of king James is contained, under whose peaceable government your grandfather was his privy counsellor, and master of the rolls, when your family was not brought, but *brought back* into England, where it

had flourished barons many years before. Plants are much meliorated by transplanting, especially when after many years they are restored to their native soil, as cordial unto them. And thus the continuance and increase of all happiness to yourself and noble consort, is the unfeigned prayer of

Your Honour's most obliged Servant,

THOMAS FULLER.

THE

CHURCH HISTORY

OF

BRITAIN.

BOOK X.

THE difference betwixt the seculars and the Jesuits still continued and increased. Wherefore bishop Bancroft, counting the seculars the better but weaker side, afforded them countenance and maintenance in London House, accommodating them with necessaries to write against their adversaries; hoping the protestants might assault the Romish cause with the greater advantage, when they found a breach made to their hand by the others' own dissensions [a]. But such who bore no good-will to the bishop, beholding the frequent repairing and familiar conversing of such priests in

A.D. 1601. 43 Eliz.

The seculars fomented by the bishop of London against the Jesuits.

[a] [To this report Watson alludes in one of his letters; and it seems to have been well grounded: "They (the Jesuits) "reported," he says, "that I "was set on by the lord Cecil "of Essenden, and the bishop "of London, and I know not "whom, to betray all catholics, "and bring them within com-"pass of treason." Goodman's Mem. II. 84.]

A. D. 1601. 43 Eliz. his house, made a contrary construction of his actions, and reported him popishly affected. Thus those who publicly do things in themselves liable to offence, and privately reserve the reasons of their actions in their own bosoms, may sufficiently satisfy their consciences towards God, but will hardly avoid the censures of men, to which too unwarily they expose themselves. With more general applause was the bounty of archbishop Whitgift bestowed, who now finished his hospital, founded and endowed by him at Croydon in Surrey, for a warden and eight and twenty brethren; as also a free school, with liberal maintenance, for the education of youth. God (the best of creditors) no doubt long since hath plentifully repaid what was lent to him in his members.

Acts in the last parliament of queen Elizabeth.

2. The last parliament in this queen's reign was now begun at Westminster, and dissolved the month next following. Of such things which at distance may seem to relate to church affairs, in this parliament, it was enacted, "That overseers of the poor "should be nominated yearly, in Easter week, un- "der the hand and seal of two justices of peace[b]; "and that these, with the churchwardens, should "take care for the relief of the poor, binding out of "apprentices, &c. As also, that the lord chancellor "should award commissions under the great seal, "into any part of the realm, as cause should require, "to the bishop of every diocese and his chancellor[c], "and any four or more persons of honest beha- "viour, to inquire by oaths of twelve men into the

[b] Statute 43 of queen Elizabeth, c. 2.
[c] Ibid. cap. 4.

"misemployment of any lands or goods given to "pious uses; and by their orders to appoint them "to be duly and faithfully paid or employed to their "true uses and intents." In pursuance of this statute, much good was and is done to this day, in several parts of the kingdom, the law being very tender, that the true intentions of the donor should take effect, as by this eminent instance may appear. By the rule of the law, copyhold land cannot be aliened but by surrender; but yet, if a man devise such land to a charitable use, though it had not been surrendered, this is adjudged good [d], and shall be construed an appointment to a charitable use within this statute. A.D. 1601. 43 Eliz.

3. Now, if we look into the convocation parallel to this parliament, therein we shall find that it began with a Latin sermon of William Barlow, doctor of divinity, and one of her majesty's chaplains, (afterwards bishop of Rochester, then of Lincoln,) preaching on this text, Luke xix. 13,) *Negotiamini dum venio.* In this convocation, Matthew Sutcliffe, doctor of the law and dean of Exeter, was chosen prolocutor, but nothing save matters of course passed therein. Nor find I any eminent divine deceased this year. Acts of this year's convocation.

4. Francis Godwin, doctor of divinity, sub-dean of Exeter, son of Thomas Godwin, bishop of Wells, (like another Gregory Nazianzen, a bishop, son to a bishop [e],) was promoted to the church of Llandaff. He was born in the fourth year of queen Elizabeth, who was not a little sensible of and thankful for Francis Godwin made bishop of Llandaff.

[d] 15 Jac. in Rivet's case in chancery.

[e] In Vita Greg. Nazianzen, [prefixed to his Works. Paris, 1609. See bishop Taylor's Cases of Conscience, p. 677.]

A. D. 1601. 43 Eliz. God's favour unto her, in suffering her so long to hold the helm of the English church, till one born within her reign was found fit to be a bishop. He was stored with all polite learning, both judicious and industrious in the study of antiquity, to whom not only the church of Llandaff (whereof he well deserved) but all England is indebted, as for his other learned writings, so especially for his Catalogue of Bishops. He was translated, anno 1617, to Hereford, and died, many years after, a very old man, in the reign of king Charles [f].

Watson's Quodlibets against the Jesuits.

5. Now came forth a notable book against the Jesuits, written in a scholastic way, by one Watson, a secular priest, consisting of ten Quodlibets, each whereof is subdivided into as many Articles [g]. It

[f] [His election was confirmed on the 14th of November, and his consecration performed on the 22nd, in the collegiate church of St. Peter's, Westminster. Strype's Whitgift, 553. His congé d'élire, bearing date Jan. 7, 1603, is printed in Rymer's Fœd. xvi. 488. He lived till the year 1633. See Godwin de Præsul. 696, 613, and a more diffusive account of him in Wood's Ath. I. 580, who states that queen Elizabeth advanced Godwin to the see of Llandaff on account of his "Catalogue of Bishops."]

[g] ["A Decachordon of Ten "Quodlibetical Questions con- "cerning Religion and State; "wherein the author, framing "himself a quilibet to every "quodlibet, decides an hun- "dred cross interrogatory "doubts about the general "contentions betwixt the se- "minary priests and Jesuits "at this present." Newly imprinted, 1602. 4to. The title-page bears no name, though Watson acknowledges himself to be the author at p. 361. Unpromising as is the title of the book, it contains a fund of the most curious information respecting the personal history, secret intrigues, and proceedings of the Jesuits and Roman catholics during the later years of queen Elizabeth. Watson was likewise the author of several pamphlets of the same nature, to which he generally prefixed his initials, W. W. Being a very pragmatical and busy character, he collected much secret anecdote and scandalous history, which he emptied unmercifully upon his implacable enemies the Jesuits.]

discovereth the Jesuits in their colours, ferreting them out of all their burrows of equivocation and mental reservation; holding Proteus so hard to it, that in despite of his changing into many shapes, he is forced to appear in his own proper form. No entire answer, for aught I can learn, was ever returned to this book; the Jesuits (according to their old trick) slighting what they cannot confute, and counting that unworthy to be done which they found themselves unable to do. Indeed, for matters of fact therein, they are so punctually reported, with the several circumstances of time and place, that the guilty consciences of such as are concerned therein, though snapping and snarling at pieces and passages thereof, for the main may well give it over for unanswerable. A. D. 1602. 44 Eliz.

6. Yet the whole book is written with an embittered style, so that protestant charity hath a better conceit of Jesuits than to account them altogether so bad. Take one passage of many: "No, no, their "course of life doth shew what their study is; and "that howsoever they boast of their perfections, "holiness, meditations, and exercises, yet their plat-"form is heathenish, tyrannical, satanical, and able "to set Aretine, Lucian, Machiavel, yea, and Don "Lucifer, in a sort to school, as impossible for him, "by all the art he hath, to besot men as they do [h]." This is the same Watson, who, though boasting of the obedience of the secular priests to their sovereigns, and taxing the Jesuits for want thereof, was notwithstanding himself afterwards executed for a traitor, in the reign of king James. It seems as The black character of Jesuits painted with the pencil of a secular priest.

[h] Second Quodlibet, third Article, p. 62.

A. D. 1602. 44 Eliz. well seculars as Jesuits are so loaden with loyalty, that both need the gallows to ease them of the burden thereof.

A quiet in the English church, and the cause thereof.

7. Great at this time was the calm in the English church, the brethren not endeavouring any thing in opposition to the hierarchy. This some impute not to their quietness, but weariness, because so long they had in vain seeked to cast off that yoke from them; besides, they did not so much practise for the present, as project for the future, to procure hereafter an establishment of their ecclesiastical government. For they beheld the queen's old age as a taper of virgin wax now in the socket, ready to be extinguished; which made them address and apply themselves with all diligence to James king of Scotland, the heir apparent to the crown, as to the rising sun, whom they hoped will be more favourable to their proceedings;—hopes not altogether groundless, whilst they considered the power of the presbytery in the church of Scotland, where bishops, though lately restored to their place, were so restrained in their power, that small was their command in church affairs; which made the brethren in England thence to promise great matters to themselves, but with what success shall be seen hereafter. As for Mr. Thomas Cartwright, the chieftain of that party in England, we find him at this time growing rich in the town of Warwick, (there master of an hospital, by the benevolence and bounty of his followers,) where he preached very temperately [i], according to his promise made to the archbishop [k].

[i] Sir George Paul's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, §. 79.

[k] [See Strype's Whitgift, 554. The same author quotes a passage from sir H. Yelverton's Epistle to the Reader,

8. Some ascribe this his mildness to his old age and experience, it being commonly observed that in controversies of this kind, men, when they consult with their own grey hairs, begin to abate of their violence. Others conceive that archbishop Whitgift had conquered him with his kindness, having formerly procured him both his pardon and dismission out of all his troubles; so that his coals of courtesies, heaped on Mr. Cartwright's head, made the good metal (the ingenuity in him) to melt into moderation. For in his letters written with his own hand, March 24, anno 1601, he confesseth himself much obliged unto him, vouchsafing him the style of "*a right reverend father in God, and his* "*lord the archbishop's grace of Canterbury;*" which title of *grace* he also often yieldeth him throughout his letters, acknowledging his "*bond of most humble* "*duty so much the straiter, because his grace's favour* "*proceeded from a frank disposition, without any* "*desert of his own*[1]." Others (and that not improbably) do think that Mr. Cartwright grew sensible with sorrow how all sects and schisms, being opposite to bishops, (Brownists, Barrowists, &c.) did shroud and shelter themselves under his protection, whom he could neither reject with credit nor receive with comfort, seeing his conscience could not close

A. D. 1602. 44 Eliz.

Several reasons assigned of Mr. Cartwright's moderation.

prefixed to bishop Morton's Episcopacy Justified, as a proof of the change in Cartwright's sentiments; "which he spoke "to a sober person on his "deathbed, and credibly reported to that gentleman "from one in Warwick: that "he seriously lamented the "unnecessary troubles he had "caused in the church by the "schism he had been the great "fomenter of; and wished he "was to begin his life again, "that he might testify to the "world the dislike he had of "his former ways. And in "this opinion he died."]

[1] Sir George Paul, ib.

A. D. 1602. 44 Eliz. with their enormous opinions, and his counsel could not regulate their extravagant violences, which made him by degrees decline their party. Yet, for all this, there want not those who will maintain that all this while Mr. Cartwright was not more remiss, but more reserved in his judgment, being still as sound but not as sharp in the cause, out of politic intents, like a skilful pilot in a great tempest, yielding to the violence of a storm, therewith to be carried away, contrary to his intents for the present, but waiting when the wind should soon turn about to the north, and blow him and his a prosperous gale, according to their desires.

The character of Mr. Cartwright.

9. What his opinions were, may appear by the premises; and his life may be presumed most pious, it concerning him to be strict in his conversation, who so stickled for the reformation of all abuses in the church;—an excellent scholar, pure Latinist, (his travels advantaging the ready use thereof,) accurate Grecian, exact Hebraician, as his comments on the Proverbs and other works do sufficiently testify. But the masterpiece of all his writings was that his Confutation of the Rhemish Translation of the New Testament into English, at the importunity of many ministers of London and Suffolk; and sir Francis Walsingham, the queen's secretary, (Mr. Cartwright's especial patron,) gave him an hundred pounds to buy him books and encourage him in that work[m]. However, the setting forth thereof was stopped by archbishop Whitgift[n], probably, we may conceive,

[m] [In 1583.] See the Preface of Mr. Cartwright's book.

[n] [In 1590. But not so stopped but that Cartwright resumed his work shortly after. See the publisher's Preface to the Reader, from which the information in the text is derived.

because some passages therein did glance at and gird the episcopal discipline in England; and after it had lain thirty years neglected, it was first set forth anno 1618, and then without either privilege or licence [o], except any will say that truth is a licence for itself. In a word, no English champion in that age did with more valour or success charge and rout the Romish enemy in matters of doctrine. But when that adversary sometimes was not in the field, then his active spirit fell foul, in point of discipline, with those which otherwise were of his own religion. A.D. 1602. 44 Eliz.

10. The same year proved fatal to many other eminent clergymen; and I hope, without offence, I may join them together, their bodies at the same time meeting at the grave, though their minds before had parted in different opinions. Bishop Westphaling, dean Nowell, Mr. Perkins, Gregory Sayer, and William Harris, depart this world.

i. Herbert Westphaling, bishop of Hereford, (though perchance his ambiguous death is more properly referred to the last year [p],) brought up in Christ Church in Oxford, being the first bishop of that foundation; a man of great piety of life, and of such gravity that he was seldom or never seen to laugh [q]; leaving

It must not, however, be forgotten that Cartwright published a small tract against part of the Rhemists' work, entitled, "The Answer to the "Preface to the Rhemish Tes- "tament. By T. Cartwright, "at Edinburgh. Printed by "Robert Waldegrave, printer "to the king's majesty. 1602. "Cum privilegio regis." — 12mo.]

[o] [But neither is there privilege or licence to his Comment on Ecclesiastes, which he dedicated to James I.]

[p] [He died March 1st, 1602. See Wood's Ath. I. 314. Godwin, who knew him well, has by a strange mistake referred his death to the year 1585, which indeed is the date of his translation to the see of Hereford. De Præsul. p. 495.]

[q] Godwin de Præsulibus Angliæ, p. 495.

A. D. 1602. 44 Eliz. no great but a well-gotten estate, out of which he bequeathed twenty pounds per annum to Jesus College in Oxford.

ii. Alexander Nowell, doctor of divinity, and dean of St. Paul's in London, born in Lancashire, bred in Oxford, afterwards fled into Germany, in the reign of queen Mary. He was the first of English exiles that returned in the days of queen Elizabeth [r]; and I have read how in a parliament he was chosen burgess of a town of Cornwall; but his election pronounced void, because he was a deacon;—a man of a most angelical life and deep learning; a great defender of justification by faith alone, and yet a great practiser of good works,—witness two hundred pounds a year rent for the maintenance of thirteen students, bestowed on Brasenose College, wherein he had his education [s]; a great honourer of the marriage of the clergy, and yet who lived and died single himself; an aged man, of ninety years of age, yet fresh in his youthful learning; yea, like another Moses, his eyes were not dim, nor did he ever make use of spectacles [t] to read the smallest print [u].

iii. William Perkins, who was born in the first and died in the last of queen Elizabeth; so that his life, (as we have elsewhere observed, to which we remit the reader [v],) running parallel with this queen's reign, began, continued, and ended therewith.

iv. Gregory (before his entrance into religion, Robert) Sayer, bred in Cambridge; then, leaving

[r] Donald Lupton in his Life, [Protest. Divines, p. 252, ed. 1637.]

[s] Camden's Eliz. in anno 1602.

[t] Hugh Holland in his Heroolog. p. 217, ed. 1620.

[u] [According to Camden, he died in February, 1603.]

[v] In the Holy State, where see his life at large, p. 88.

the university, fled beyond sea, where he became a Benedictine monk, of the congregation of St. Justin in Padua. He lived in several parts of Europe, as at Rheims, Rome, Montecasino, Venice, where he died, and was buried the thirtieth of October [x], having written many volumes in great esteem with men of his profession. A. D. 1602. 44 Eliz.

v. William Harris, as obscure among protestants as eminent with the popish party; a master of arts of Lincoln College in Oxford, whence, leaving the land, he fled beyond sea, living at Douay; and afterwards he came over into England [y], where it seems he had the hap to escape the queen's officers, and to die in his bed. His book, called "The Theatre of "the most true and ancient Church of England," is highly accounted of Roman catholics.

11. About this time the low estate of the city of Geneva (the nursery of the reformed religion) was lively represented to the prelates, clergy, and well-disposed persons of England, being for the present in a very doleful condition. Long since it had been undone, but because it had so many enemies to undo it; so that, by God's providence, *out of the devourer came meat* [z]. Such neighbouring princes and states, which were both willing and able to swallow up this Zoar, did preserve it; for rather than Savoy should suppress it, Venice, Florence, the popish cantons in Switzerland, and France itself, would support it. But for all this politic geometry, wherewith long it had hung safe betwixt several competitors, it was lately shrewdly shaken by the puissance of the duke of Relief sent to the city of Geneva.

[x] Pitz. in Vita, p. 801. [y] Idem, p. 802. [z] Judges xiv. 14.

A. D. 1602. 44 Eliz. Savoy, who, addicted to the Spanish faction, had banished all protestants out of his dominions. Archbishop Whitgift, whose hand was ever open to any pious design, led with his liberal example, and the rest cheerfully followed; so that large sums of money were seasonably made over for the relief of Geneva [a].

The death of queen Elizabeth. 12. Queen Elizabeth, the mirror of her sex and age, (having above forty years, to the admiration of envy itself, managed this kingdom, finding when she began few friends that durst help, and leaving no foes that could hurt her,) exchanged her earthly for a heavenly crown; who, as she lived and died an unspotted virgin, so her maiden memory is likely, in this respect, to remain sole and single, seeing history affords no prince to be matched to her fame in all considerable particulars. Her corpse was solemnly interred under a fair tomb in Westminster, the lively draught whereof is pictured in most London and many country churches, every parish being proud of the shadow of her tomb; and no wonder, when each loyal subject erected a mournful monument for her in his heart. But, soon after, all English souls were employed equally to divide themselves betwixt exclamations of sorrow for her death and acclamations of joy for king James his succeeding her [b].

King James sends a welcome message to the episcopal party. 13. And now it is strange with what assiduity and diligence the two potent parties, the defenders of episcopacy and presbytery, with equal hopes of success, made (besides private and particular addresses) public and visible applications to king James,—the

[a] [26 Oct. 1603.]

[b] [See Goodman's Memoirs of James I. for an account of the queen's death by an eyewitness, vol. II. p. 55, and note.]

first to continue, the latter to restore, or rather set up their government; so that, whilst each side was jealous his rival should get the start by early stirring, and rise first in the king's favour, such was their vigilancy, that neither may seem to go to bed; incessantly diligent, both before and since the queen's death, in dispatching posts and messages into Scotland to advance their several designs[c]. We take notice of two principal: Mr. Lewis Pickering, a Northamptonshire gentleman, and zealous for the presbyterian party, was the third person of quality, who, riding incredibly swift, (good news makes good horsemen,) brought king James the tidings of queen Elizabeth's death; but how far and with what answer he moved the king in that cause, is uncertain[d]. Dr. Thomas Nevill, dean of Canterbury, came into Scotland some days after him, (except any will say that he comes first that comes really to effect what he was sent for,) being solemnly employed by archbishop Whitgift to his majesty, in the name of the bishops and clergy of England, to tender their bounden duties, and to understand his highness' pleasure for the ordering and guiding of ecclesias- A. D. 1603. 1 James.

[c] ["There is a foolish rumour up and down in the court, of sir H. Bromley, lord Thomas Howard, lord Cobham, and the dean of Canterbury, Dr. Nevile, that each should go to move the king for what they like: Nevile for the protestant, lord Thomas Howard for the papist, Bromley for the puritan, lord Cobham for the atheist." MS. Journal in Harl. MSS. 5353.

Among others, Watson, the seminary priest, was sent to obtain toleration for the Roman catholics, but apparently without effect; and this may be the reason why several pamphlets were put forth by that party to the prejudice of James's succession. See Kennett's MSS. lxxxix. p. 11, and Watson's remarkable letter in the Memoirs of James I. Vol. II. p. 59.]

[d] [See Goodman, ib. p. 28, and note.]

A. D. 1603. 1 James.

tical causes [e]. He brought back a welcome answer to such as sent him of his highness' purpose, "which "was to uphold and maintain the government of "the late queen, as she left it settled."

Watson's silly treason.

14. Soon after followed the treason of William Watson, on this occasion. This Watson, secular priest, had written a bitter book against the Jesuits, as being one knowing, though not so secret, of their faults, as their own confessors; taxing them with truth so plain, they could not deny—so foul, they durst not confess it. Now such is the charity of Jesuits, that they never owe any man any ill-will, making present payment thereof. These holy fathers (as Watson intimated on the scaffold, at his death, and forgave them for the same [f]) "cunningly and "covertly drew him into this action," promoting him (who was ambitious, though pretending to much mortification) treasonably to practise his own preferment [g].

[e] Sir G. Paul's Life of Whitgift, §. 126.

[f] Stow's Chron. p. 831.

[g] [Casaubon, in his letter to Fronto Ducæus, says that Watson and Clarke constantly affirmed that they communicated their conspiracy to the Jesuits, and asked them to join it; but they refused, alleging that they were engaged in some other plot, meaning, as it was supposed, the Gunpowder Treason. p. 89. An impenetrable mystery hangs about this by-plot, as it was called. Watson, in his letter to the lords of the privy council, and particularly in his Quodlibets, displays the bitterest zeal and animosity against the Jesuits; taxes them with being the authors of all the troubles brought upon the Roman catholics, by their turbulent and seditious conduct; and his letter asserts that this charge of treason was brought against him by their machinations, in order to get rid of him, whom they dreaded as a powerful enemy. Yet at his death he asks their pardon and their prayers. See note, ix. §. 15. It would seem, then, that two conspiracies were formed against king James, the one by the secular priests, the other by the Jesuits; and it is not improbable that the latter, still retaining a sense of their an-

15. Watson, with William Clarke, another of his own profession, having fancied a notional treason, imparted it to George Brooke, one angry with nature, not so much for making him lame, as a younger brother. These break it to (Brooke, his brother) the lord Cobham, to the lord Gray of Whaddon, and sir Walter Raleigh—the one a known protestant, the other a reputed puritan, the third an able statesman — besides some other knights, displeased with their present fortunes (how quickly is discontent inflamed into disloyalty !) because, since the turning of the wheel at the queen's death, on the wrong side of preferment. Watson devised an oath of secrecy for them all, which was no more than needful, considering their different interests—rather pieced than united, patched than pieced together. A. D. 1603. 1 James. His motley complices.

16. Had one lost his religion, he might have found it (though I confess a treason is but a bad place to seek it in) in this conspiracy, wherein men of all persuasions were engaged. Their parts were as different as their opinions, some of them being conceived too wise to begin, and others too weak to finish so dangerous a design. The ends they propounded to themselves (as they were charged therewith) were, to kill the king, raise rebellion, alter religion—at least gain a toleration, and procure a foreign invasion, with many more things, which may be spoken easier in a minute than done in an age, especially their interest being not much at Their wild means whereby to attain a mad end.

cient grudge against the seculars, which originated during the latter part of the last reign, betrayed this conspiracy to the government, but had sense and cunning (certainly not honesty) enough to keep their own necks out of the snare.]

A. D. 1603. 1 James.

home, and nothing abroad. They ante-divided all offices of state betwixt themselves—lord marshal to one, treasurer to another, master of the horse to a third, secretary to a fourth, &c.; only sir Walter Raleigh (able to discharge any) had no particular office assigned unto him. Watson was to be lord chancellor, being very fit for the place, had he but as much skill to decide causes as write quodlibets. There wanted nothing to estate them in all these offices, but only their getting of them.

The two priests executed.

17. Wonder not that this treason was discovered so soon, but covered so long [h]. The two priests alone, with George Brooke, were executed; who, to use the words of king James in his letter to sir Benjamin Tichbourne, sheriff of Hampshire, (for, the plague being in London, term was removed to Winchester, where they were tried,)" vaire the principall plotteris " and intisairs of all the rest, to the embracing of the " saidis treasonabil machinations [i]." The rest were

[h] [According to Johnston, Francis Barnaby, a Romish priest, first discovered the plot to Bancroft, and he to Cecil; but Barnaby could mention no others than Watson and Clarke; which seems to confirm the assertion of bishop Goodman, that Raleigh was no otherwise concerned in the plot than as being aware of its existence, which he had intended to disclose, but was anticipated. See Johnston, Hist. Br. p. 372. Some ingenious remarks upon it will be found in Tytler's Life of Raleigh, p. 257, sq. and p. 444. Bishop Goodman, in his Memoirs, has furnished some very important information respecting it. I. p. 63, and the Letters, II. p. 86, sq. He conceives that sir George Brooke alone was culpable, who in a fit of discontent formed the plot, with a view to gain favour by discovering it.]

[i] [This letter is published at length in a tract entitled, "The " Copy of a Letter written " from Master T. M., near Sa- " lisbury, to Master H. A., at " London, concerning the pro- " ceedings at Winchester; " where the late lord Cobham, " lord Gray, and sir Griffin " Markham, all attainted of " high treason, were ready to " be executed, on Friday the " 9th of December, 1603."

pardoned their lives, not their lands[j]. We must not forget that the priests pleaded the silliest for themselves of all that were arraigned, alleging that their practice against the king could not be treason, because done against him before he was crowned[k]; Watson instancing in Saul, who was anointed in Ramah[l], and afterward made king in Mizpeh[m]. Clarke insisted on Rehoboam, as being no king till the people had made him so[n]; not remembering (what our lawyers there minded them of) the difference betwixt successive kings, deriving their claim from their ancestors, and one newly elected; the English crown also being as incapable of an *interregnum* as nature of a vacuity. Meantime the Jesuits looked on, and laughed at Watson's execution, to see how bunglingly secular priests went about a treason, resolving in the next platform thereof (which now they were contriving) to rectify the errors Watson had committed; not to engage in a squint-eyed company, where two did not look the same way, but to select a competency of cordial catholics for the purpose. A. D. 1603. 1 James.

18. No sooner was king James settled on the English throne, but Mr. Cartwright presented unto him his Latin Comment on Ecclesiastes[o], thank- Mr. Cartwright dedicates a book to king James.

This tract was printed in 1603, and reprinted in Morgan's Phœnix Britannicus, p. 51.]

j [Watson and Clarke were hanged upon 29th Nov., and both cut down alive. Brooke was beheaded on Monday, Dec. 5, in the castle-yard. See Carte's History, III. p. 722.]

k [See the voluntary declaration of Ant. Copley, dated 14th July, 1603, in Lingard's Hist. Eng. VI. p. 641.]

l 1 Sam. x. 1.

m Ibid. ver. 24.

n 1 Kings xii. 1.

o [Printed at London in 1604, in 4to.]

A. D. 1603. 1 James. fully mentioning in his Dedication how he had, some twenty years before, been chosen to be professor in a Scotch university, though declining the acceptance thereof because of his pastoral charge, being then minister to the English congregation at Antwerp—thanks, perchance, not so proper to the person of king James, (though in loyalty and good manners justly tendered unto him,) as due rather to those who in his minority steered the affairs of Scotland. Nor let any wonder that an Englishman should be proffered preferment in Scotland, seeing it was but one for another, remembering that I have read in the life of Mr. Knox that he was offered an English bishopric, in the reign (as I take it) of king Edward the Sixth, and likewise refused the same.

Mr. Cartwright his death.

19. But Mr. Cartwright survived not long after, (otherwise, no doubt, we should have heard of him in Hampton Court conference, as the champion of his party,) who died at the age of sixty, on the twenty-seventh of December following. To what we have formerly largely writ of his character, we now only add that he was born in Hertfordshire, and married the sister of Mr. Stubbs [p], whose hand was struck off for writing an (interpreted) libel against queen Elizabeth's marriage with Monsieur [q]. This I dare boldly say, she was a most excellent wife, if she proved like her brother, whom Mr.

[p] [The Discovery of a gaping Gulf whereinto England is like to be swallowed by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the Banns, by letting her Majesty see the Sin and Punishment thereof. Mense Augusti, 1579. 8vo.]

[q] Camden in his Eliz. 1581.

Camden (no great friend of puritans) cordially commendeth for a right honest man, generally beloved whilst living, and lamented when dead. He was afflicted towards his old age with many infirmities, insomuch that he was forced continually to study upon his knees [r]. My ears shall be deaf to the uncharitable inference of those who impute this extraordinary painful posture as a just punishment upon him, in that he had so bitterly inveighed against the gesture of those as superstitious who reverently received the sacrament on their knees. Mr. Dodd preached his funeral sermon. A. D. 1603. 1 James.

20. And now, because there was a general expectation of a parliament, suddenly to succeed the presbyterian party, that they might not be surprised before they had their tackling about them, went about to get hands of the ministers to a petition, which they intended seasonably to present to the king and parliament. Mr. Arthur Hildersham and Mr. Stephen Egerton, with some others, were chosen, and chiefly intrusted to manage this important business. This was called "the millenary petition," as one of a thousand [s], though indeed there were but seven hundred and fifty preachers' hands set thereunto, but those all collected only out of five and twenty counties. However, for the more rotundity of the number and grace of the matter, it passeth for a full thousand; which, no doubt, the collectors The presbyterian petition to king and parliament.

[r] See his Life, lately set forth by M. Clark, [in his Lives of Thirty-two English Divines, p. 367.]

[s] See Mr. Hildersham's Life, set forth by Samuel Clark [at the end of his Gen. Martyrology, p. 377, ed. fol. 1651. See this petition exemplified below.]

A. D. 1603. 1 James.

of the names, if so pleased, might easily have completed. I dare not guess what made them desist before their number was finished: whether they thought that these were enough to do the deed, and moe were rather for ostentation than use; or, because disheartened by the intervening of the Hampton Court conference, they thought that these were even too many to petition for a denial. It is left as yet uncertain whether this conference was by the king's favour graciously tendered, or by the mediation of the lords of his council powerfully procured, or by the bishops (as confident of their cause) voluntarily proffered, or by the ministers' importunity effectually obtained. Each opinion pretends to probability, but the last most likely; and, by what means soever this conference was compassed, Hampton Court was the place, the fourteenth of January the time [t], and the following names the persons which were employed therein [u]:

For Conformity.	*Moderator.*	*Against Conformity.*
Archbishop of Canterbury, Whitgift.	KING JAMES.	Dr. Reynolds.
Bishop of London, Bancroft.	*Spectators.*	Dr. Sparks.
——— Durham, Matthew.	All the lords of the privy council, whereas some at times interposed a few words.	Mr. Knewstubs.
——— Winchester, Bilson.		Mr. [Laurence] Chaderton.
——— Worcester, Babington.		
——— St. David's, Rudd.		
——— Chichester, Watson.		
——— Carlisle, Robinson.		
——— Peterborough, Dove.		
Dean of The Chapel, [Dr. James Mountague.]	*Place.*	These, remaining in a room without, were not called in the first day.
——— Christ Church, [Dr. Ravis.]	A withdrawing room within the privy chamber.	
——— Worcester, [Dr. Edes] [x].		
——— Westminster, Andrewes.		
——— St. Paul's, Overall.		
——— Chester, Barlow.		
——— Salisbury, Bridges.		
——— Windsor [y].		
Dr. Field, [dean of Gloucester.]		
Dr. King, [archdeacon of Nottingham.]		

To omit all gratulatory preambles, (as necessary when spoken, as needless if now repeated,) we will present only the substance of this day's conference, his majesty thus beginning it: A. D. 1603. 1 James.

"It is no novel device, but according to the "example of all Christian princes, for kings to take "the first course for the establishing of the church, "both in doctrine and policy [z]. To this the very "heathen related in their proverb, *A Jove prin-* "*cipium*, particularly in this land. King Henry "the Eighth, towards the end of his reign, altered "much; king Edward the Sixth more; queen Mary "reversed all; and lastly, queen Elizabeth (of "famous memory [a]) settled religion as now it "standeth.

"Herein I am happier than they, because they "were fain to alter all things they found established; "whereas I see yet no such cause to change, as con- "firm what I find well settled already. For blessed "be God's gracious goodness [b], who hath brought me

[t] [It was at first appointed on the 12th of January, (Thursday,) but afterwards deferred by the king till the 14th. Barlow, &c., p. 2. Heylyn's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 368.]

[u] [The account of this conference was published by Dr. Barlow, then dean of Chester, in 1604. It was reprinted in 1638, and again in a collection of tracts called "The Phœnix." 8vo.]

[x] [See Wood's Papers, Vol. II. p. 39.]

[y] Though all these deans were summoned by letters, and present in the presence-chamber; yet only five (viz. of the Chapel, Westminster, Paul's, Chester, and Salisbury) on the first day were called in. [Barlow's Sum of the Conf. &c. p. 2.]

[z] [Barlow, ib. p. 3.]

[a] Note, his majesty never remembered her but with some honourable addition. [Barlow.]

[b] ["At which words he put "off his hat." Barlow, ib. p. 142.]

A.D. 1603. 1 James. "into the *promised land*, where religion is purely "professed, where I sit amongst grave, learned, and "reverend men; not as before, *elsewhere*, a king "without state, without honour, without order, "where beardless boys would brave us to the "face.

"And, I assure you, we have not called this "assembly for any innovation; for we acknowledge "the government ecclesiastical, as now it is, to have "been approved by manifold blessings from God "himself, both for the increase of the gospel, and "with a most happy and glorious peace. Yet, be- "cause nothing can be so absolutely ordered but "that something may be added thereunto, and cor- "ruption in any state (as in the body of man) will "insensibly grow either through time or persons; "and because we have received many complaints, "since our first entrance into this kingdom, of many "disorders and much disobedience to the laws, with "a great falling away to popery: our purpose there- "fore is, like a good physician, to examine and try "the complaints, and fully to remove the occasions "thereof, if scandalous—cure them, if dangerous— "and take knowledge of them, if but frivolous; "thereby to cast a sop into Cerberus his mouth, "that he bark no more. For this cause we have "called you bishops and deans in, severally by your- "selves, not to be confronted by the contrary oppo- "nents, that if any thing should be found meet to "be redressed, it might be done without any visible "alteration.

"Particularly there be some special points wherein "I desire to be satisfied, and which may be reduced

" to three heads: 1. Concerning the Book of Com- A.D. 1603. 1 James.
" mon Prayer, and divine service used in the church.
" 2. Excommunication in ecclesiastical courts. 3.
" The providing of fit and able ministers for Ireland.
" In the Common Prayer Book I require satisfaction
" about three things:

i. " First, about *confirmation*; for the very name
" thereof, if arguing a *confirming of baptism*, as if
" this sacrament without it were of no validity, is
" plainly blasphemous. For though at the first use
" thereof in the church it was thought necessary
" that baptized infants, who formerly had answered
" by their *patrini*, should [be examined] when come
" to years of discretion, [and] after their profession
" made by themselves, be confirmed with the blessing
" of the bishop, I abhor the abuse [in popery,] where
" it is made a sacrament and a corroboration to
" baptism.

ii. " As for *absolution*, I know not how it is used
" in your church, but have heard it likened to the
" pope's pardons. There be, indeed, [only] two
" kinds thereof from God: one general, all prayers
" and preaching importing an absolution; the other
" particular, to special parties having committed a
" scandal, and repenting. Otherwise, where excom-
" munication [or penance] precedes not, in my judg-
" ment there needs no absolution.

iii. " *Private baptism* is the third thing wherein I
" would be satisfied in the Common Prayer: if called
" private from the place, I think it agreeable with
" the use of the primitive church; but if termed
" private that any besides a lawful minister may
" baptize, I utterly dislike it." And here his majesty

A. D. 1603. 1 James. grew somewhat earnest in his expressions against the baptizing by women and laics.

2. i. "In the second head, *excommunication*, I "offer two things to be considered of: first, the "matter; secondly, the persons. For the first, I "would be satisfied whether it be executed, as it is "complained of to me, in light causes, and that too "commonly, which causeth the undervaluing thereof. "For the persons, I would be resolved why chan- "cellors and commissaries, being laymen, should do "it, and not rather the bishops themselves, or some "minister of gravity and account, deputed by them "for the more dignity to so high and weighty a "censure. As for providing ministers for Ireland, I "shall refer it, in the last day's conference, to a "consultation."

Archbishop of Canterbury.—"Confirmation hath "been used in the catholic church ever since the "apostles; and it is a very untrue suggestion, if "any have informed your highness that the church "of England holds baptism imperfect without it, as "adding to the virtue and strength thereof[b]."

Bishop of London.—"The authority of confirma- "tion depends not only on antiquity[c], and the "practice of the primitive church, but is an aposto- "lical institution, named in express words, Heb. vi. "2; and so did Mr. Calvin expound the very place, "earnestly wishing the restitution thereof in the "reformed churches."

[b] He addressed himself to the king on his knee. [Barlow, ib. p. 9.]

[c] Citing Cypr. Ep. lxxiii. p. 132, ed. 1726; and Jerome adversus Luciferian. [IV. pp. 294, 295, ed. Paris, 1706.]

The *bishop of Carlisle* is said gravely and learnedly to have urged the same; and the *bishop of Durham* noted something out of St. Matthew for the imposition of hands on children. A. D. 1603. 1 James.

The conclusion was this: for the fuller explanation that we make confirmation neither a sacrament nor a corroboration thereof, their lordships should consider whether it might not without alteration (whereof his majesty was still very wary) be entitled an examination with a confirmation.

Archbishop of Canterbury.—"As for the point of "absolution, (wherein your majesty desires satisfac- "tion,) it is clear from all abuse or superstition, as "it is used in our church of England, as will appear "on the reading both of the Confession and Abso- "lution following it, in the beginning of the Com- "munion Book."

Here the king perused both, and returned—

His Majesty.—"I like and approve them, finding "it to be very true what you say."

Bishop of London.—"It becometh us to deal "plainly with your majesty: there is also in the "book a more particular and personal absolution in "the Visitation of the Sick."

Here the dean of the Chapel turned unto it and read it. These he severally cited.

Bishop of London.—"Not only the confessions of "Augusta, Boheme, and Saxon, retain and allow it, "but Mr. Calvin also doth approve both such a "general and such a private (for so he terms it) "confession and absolution."

His Majesty.—"I exceedingly well approve it,

A. D. 1603. 1 James. "being an apostolical and godly ordinance, given in "the name of Christ to one that desireth it, upon "the clearing of his conscience."

The conclusion was this: that the bishops should consult whether unto the rubric of the general absolution, these words, "remission of sins," might not be added for explanation sake.

Archbishop of Canterbury.—"To the point of "private baptism, the administration thereof by "women and lay persons is not allowed in the "practice of the church, but inquired of, and cen-"sured by bishops in their visitations [d]."

His Majesty.—"The words of the book cannot "but intend a permission of women and private "persons to baptize."

Bishop of Worcester.—"The doubtful words may "be pressed to that meaning; yet the compilers of "the book did not so intend them, as appeareth "by their contrary practice; but they propounded "them ambiguously, because otherwise, perhaps, "the book would not then have passed the par-"liament [e]."

Bishop of London.—"Those reverend men in-"tended not by ambiguous terms to deceive any, "but thereby intended a permission of private per-"sons to baptize in case of necessity [f]. This is "agreeable to the practice of the ancient church, "(Acts ii.) when three thousand being baptized in "a day, (which for the apostles alone to do was at

[d] [Barlow, ib. p. 14.]

[e] To this he cited the testimony of the archbishop of York.

[f] Here he produced the letters of some of those first compilers.

" the least improbable,) some being neither priests A. D. 1603.
" nor bishops must be presumed employed therein; 1 James.
" and some fathers are of the same opinion." Here he spake much and earnestly about the necessity of baptism.

His Majesty. — " That in the Acts was an *act* " *extraordinary*, and done before a church was set- " tled and grounded; wherefore no sound reasoning " thence to a church stablished and flourishing. " I maintain the necessity of baptism, and always " thought the place, John iii. 5, *Except one be born* " *again of water*, &c., was meant thereof. It may " seem strange to you, my lords, that I think you " in England give too much to baptism; seeing " fourteen months ago, in Scotland, I argued with " my divines there for attributing too little unto it: " insomuch that a pert minister asked me if I " thought baptism so necessary, that, if omitted, the " child should be damned? I answered, 'No; but " if you, called to baptize a child, though privately, " refuse to come, I think you shall be damned.'

" But this necessity of baptism I so understand, " that it is necessary to be had where it may be " lawfully had, that is, ministered by lawful minis- " ters, by whom alone, and no private person in any " case, it may be administered; though I utterly dis- " like all rebaptization, although either women or " laics have baptized."

Bishop of Winchester.—" To deny private persons " to baptize in case of necessity, were to cross all " antiquity, and the common practice of the church; " it being a rule agreed on amongst divines, that the " minister is not of the essence of the sacrament."

His Majesty.—" Though he be not of the essence

A. D. 1603. 1 James. "of the sacrament, yet is he of the essence of the "right and lawful ministry thereof, according to "Christ's commission to his disciples, *Go, preach* "*and baptize* [g], &c."

The result was this: to consult whether in the rubric of private baptism, which leaves it indifferently to all, these words, "curate or lawful minister," may not be inserted.

For the point of *excommunication*, his majesty propounded, whether in causes of lesser moment the name might not be altered, and the same censure retained. Secondly, whether in place thereof another coercion, equivalent thereunto, might not be invented [h]. Which all sides easily yielded unto, as long and often desired [i]. And so was

The end of the first Day's Conference.

On Monday, January the 16th, they all met in the same place, with all the deans and doctors above mentioned; Patrick Galloway, minister of Perth in Scotland, admitted also to be there; and hopeful prince Henry sat on a stool by his father [k].

The king made a pithy speech to the same purpose which he made the first day, differing only in the conclusion thereof; being an address to the four opposers of conformity there present, whom he understood "to be the most grave, learned, and "modest of the aggrieved sort;" professing himself

g Matt. xxviii. 20.

h [Barlow, ib. p. 19.]

i ["A thing very easily "yielded unto of all sides, be- "cause it had been long and "often desired, but could not "be obtained from her ma- "jesty, (the late queen,) who "resolved to be still *semper* "*eadem*, and to alter nothing "which she had once settled." Barlow, p. 19.]

k [Barlow, ib. p. 21.]

ready to hear at large what they could object, and willed them to begin [1]. A.D. 1603. 1 James.

Dr. Reynolds.—"All things disliked or questioned "may be reduced to these four heads:

i. "That the doctrine of the church might be "preserved in purity, according to God's word."

ii. "That good pastors might be planted in all "churches, to preach the same."

iii. "That the church-government might be sin- "cerely ministered, according to God's word."

iv. "That the Book of Common Prayer might "be fitted to more increase of piety.

"For the first, may your majesty be pleased that "the Book of Articles of Religion, concluded on "1562, may be explained where obscure, enlarged "where defective: viz., whereas it is said, (Article "the 16th,) 'After we have received the Holy "Ghost, we may depart from grace,' those words "may be explained with this or the like addition: "'yet neither totally nor finally.' To which end it "would do very well if the nine orthodoxal asser- "tions concluded on at Lambeth might be inserted "into the Book of Articles.

"Secondly, whereas it is said in the 23rd Article, "'that it is not lawful for any in the congregation "to preach before he be lawfully called,' these words "ought to be altered, because implying one out of "the congregation may preach, though not lawfully "called.

"Thirdly, in the 25th Article there seemeth a "contradiction, one passage therein confessing con-

[1] [When Dr. Reynolds began to speak, he, with the other delegates, kneeled down. Barlow, ib. p. 23.]

A. D. 1603. 1 James. "firmation 'to be a depraved imitation of the apo-
"stles,' and another grounding it on their example."

Bishop of London.—"May your majesty be pleased
"that the ancient canon may be remembered, *Schis-*
"*matici contra episcopos non sunt audiendi;* and
"there is another decree of a very ancient council,
"'that no man should be admitted to speak against
"that whereunto he hath formerly subscribed.'

"And as for you, doctor Reynolds, and your
"sociates, how much are ye bound to his majesty's
"clemency, permitting you, contrary to the statute
"*primo Elizabethæ*, so freely to speak against the
"liturgy and discipline established. Fain would I
"know the end you aim at, and whether you be
"not of Mr. Cartwright's mind, who affirmed, 'that
"we ought in ceremonies rather to conform to the
"Turks than to the papists.' I doubt you approve
"his position, because here appearing before his
"majesty in Turkey gowns [m], not in your scholastic
"habits, according to the order of the universities."

His Majesty.—"My lord bishop, something in
"your passion I may excuse, and something I must
"mislike [n]. I may excuse you thus far, that I think
"you have just cause to be moved, in respect that
"they traduce the well-settled government, and also
"proceed in so indirect a course, contrary to their
"own pretence and the intent of this meeting. I
"mislike your sudden interruption of Dr. Reynolds,
"whom you should have suffered to have taken his
"liberty; for there is no order, nor can be any

[m] [Heylyn's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 368.]

[n] [The bishop had spoken in some haste, interrupting Dr. Reynolds.]

" effectual issue of disputation, if each party be not A. D. 1603.
" suffered, without chopping, to speak at large. 1 James.
" Wherefore, either let the doctor proceed, or frame
" your answer to his motions already made, although
" some of them are very needless."

Bishop of London.—" Upon the first motion con-
" cerning falling from grace, may your majesty be
" pleased to consider how many in these days neglect
" holiness of life, presuming on persisting in grace
" upon predestination,—'If I shall be saved, I shall
" be saved,'—a desperate doctrine, contrary to good
" divinity, wherein we should reason rather *ascend-*
" *endo* than *descendendo*, from our obedience to God,
" and love to our neighbour, to our election and
" predestination. As for the doctrine of the church
" of England touching predestination, it is in the
" very next paragraph, viz., 'We must receive God's
" promises in such wise as they be generally set
" forth to us in holy scripture; and in our doings
" that will of God is to be followed which we have
" expressly declared unto us in the word of God.'"

His Majesty.—" I approve it very well, as con-
" sonant with the place of Paul, *Work out your*
" *salvation with fear and trembling.* Yet let it be
" considered of, whether any thing were meet to be
" added for clearing of the doctor's doubt, by put-
" ting in the word 'often,' or the like. Meantime
" I wish that the doctrine of predestination may be
" tenderly handled, lest on the one side God's om-
" nipotency be questioned by impeaching the doc-
" trine of his eternal predestination; or on the other
" side a desperate presumption arreared, by inferring
" the necessary certainty of persisting in grace."

Bishop of London.—" The second objection of

A.D. 1603. 1 James. "the doctor's is vain, it being the doctrine and "practice of the church of England that none but "a licensed minister may preach nor administer the "Lord's Supper."

His Majesty.—"As for *private baptism*, I have "already with the bishops taken order for the "same."

Then came they to the third point, of *confirmation*; and upon the perusal of the words of the Article, his majesty concluded the pretended contradiction a cavil [o].

Bishop of London.—"*Confirmation* is not so much "founded on the place in the Acts of the Apostles, "but upon Heb. vi. 2, which was the opinion (besides "the judgment of the fathers) of Mr. Calvin [p] and "Dr. Fulk [q]; neither needeth there any farther "proof, seeing, as I suppose, he that objected this

[o] [The cavil was upon these words: "That when the Article "states that these five, commonly called sacraments, that "is to say, Confirmation, Penance, &c. are not to be "accounted for sacraments of "the gospel, being such as "have grown partly of the "corrupt following of the "apostles," &c.—the Puritans would have wrested it to mean that Confirmation is a depraved imitation of the apostles. A miserable shift it must have been, which could drive men, professing a desire of unity and love, to descend to so pitiful and dishonest a quibble, such as this and some others below.]

[p] On Heb. vi. 2. [The words of Calvin are these: "Qui erant extranei, non ante "perveniebant ad Baptismum, "quam edita fidei confessione. "In illis ergo catechesis bap"tismum præcedere solebat. "At liberi fidelium, quoniam "ab utero adoptati erant, et "jure promissionis pertinebant "ad corpus ecclesiæ infantes "baptizabantur: transacta vero "infantia, postquam instituti "erant in fide se quoque ad "catechesim offerebant, quæ "in illis baptismo erat poste"rior; sed aliud symbolum "tunc adhibebatur, nempe "manuum impositio. Hic unus "locus abunde testatur hujus "cæremoniæ originem fluxisse "ab apostolis."]

[q] On Acts viii. 17, [in his notes on the Rhemish Testament.]

" holds not confirmation unlawful; but he and his A. D. 1603.
" party are vexed that the use thereof is not in 1 James.
" their own hands, for every pastor to confirm his
" own parish; for then it would be accounted an
" apostolical institution, if Dr. Reynolds were pleased
" but to speak his thoughts therein."

Dr. Reynolds.—" Indeed, seeing some diocese of
" a bishop hath therein six hundred parishes [r], it is
" a thing very inconvenient to permit confirmation
" to the bishop alone; and I suppose it impossible
" that he can take due examination of them all
" which come to be confirmed."

Bishop of London.—" To the matter of fact I
" answer, that bishops in their visitations appoint
" either their chaplains or some other ministers to
" examine them which are to be confirmed, and
" lightly confirm none but by the testimony of the
" parsons and curates where the children are bred
" and brought up.

" To the opinion I answer, that none of all the
" fathers ever admitted any to confirm but bishops
" alone. Yea, even St. Jerome himself (otherwise
" no friend to bishops) confesseth the execution
" thereof was restrained to bishops only [s]."

Bishop of Winchester.—" Dr. Reynolds, I would
" fain have you, with all your learning, shew wher-
" ever confirmation was used in ancient times by
" any other but bishops; these used it partly to

[r] Here the bishop of London thought himself touched, because about six hundred and nine in his diocese. [Barlow, ib. p. 33.]

[s] " Ecclesia salus in summi " Sacerdotis dignitate pendet, " cui si non exors quædam et " ab omnibus eminens detur " potestas, tot in ecclesiis effi- " cientur schismata quot sacer- " dotes." [Adv. Lucifer. p. 295.]

A. D. 1603. 1 James. "examine children, and, after examination, by im-
"position of hands (the Jewish ceremony of bless-
"ing) to bless and pray over them; and partly to
"try whether they had been baptized in the right
"form or no. For in former ages some baptized (as
"they ought) in the name of the Father, Son, and
"Holy Ghost; some (as the Arians) in the name
"of the Father as the greater, and the Son as the
"less; some in the name of the Father by the Son,
"in the Holy Ghost; some not in the name of the
"Trinity, but only in the death of Christ. Where-
"upon catholic bishops were constrained to examine
"them who were baptized *in remotis*, concerning
"their baptism: if right, to confirm them; if amiss,
"to instruct them."

His Majesty.—"I dissent from the judgment of
"St. Jerome, in his assertion that bishops are not
"of divine ordination."

Bishop of London.—"Unless I could prove my
"ordination lawful out of the scriptures, I would
"not be a bishop four hours longer."

His Majesty.—"I approve the calling and use of
"bishops in the church, and it is my aphorism, 'No
"bishop, no king;' nor intend I to take confirmation
"from the bishops, which they have so long enjoyed:
"seeing as great reason that none should confirm
"as that none should preach without the bishop's
"license. But let it be referred whether the word
"*examination* ought not to be added to the rubric
"in the title of *Confirmation* in the Communion
"Book. And now, Dr. Reynolds, you may pro-
"ceed."

Dr. Reynolds.—"I protest I meant not to gall
"any man, (though I perceive some took personal

" exceptions at my words,) and desire the imputation A. D. 1603.
" of schism may not be charged upon me [t]. To pro- 1 James.
" ceed on the 37th Article, wherein are these words,
" 'The bishop of Rome hath no authority in this
" land:' These are not sufficient, unless it were
" added, 'nor ought to have any.' "

His Majesty—" *Habemus jure, quod habemus;* and " therefore, inasmuch as it is said he hath not, it is " plain enough that he ought not to have."

Here passed some pleasant discourse betwixt the king and lords about puritans, till, returning to seriousness, there began the

Bishop of London.—" May it please your majesty " to remember the speech of the French ambassador, " monsieur Rosny [u], upon the view of our solemn " service and ceremony, viz. 'that if the reformed " churches in France had kept the same order, there " would have been thousands of protestants more " than there are.' "

Dr. Reynolds.—" It were well if this proposition " might be added to the Book of Articles: 'The " intention of the minister is not of the essence of " the sacrament;' the rather, because some in Eng- " land have preached it to be essential. And here " again I could desire that the nine orthodoxal " assertions concluded at Lambeth may be generally " received."

[t] It seems the bishop of London, jealous that he was reflected on, (as is aforesaid,) called the doctor schismatic. [It seems no such thing, as the reader may see by referring to the conference, as published at length; for Dr. Reynolds evidently alludes to the expression of the bishop of London above, p. 276: " *Schismatici contra* " *episcopos non sunt audi-* " *endi.*"]

[u] [De Rosny, the celebrated Sully.]

A. D. 1603. 1 James.

His Majesty.—"I utterly dislike the first part of "your motion, thinking it unfit to thrust into the "Book of Articles every position negative, which "would swell the book into a volume as big as the "Bible, and confound the reader [x]. Thus one Mr. "Craig in Scotland (with his 'I renounce and abhor,' "his multiplied detestations and abrenunciations) so "amazed simple people, that, not able to conceive "all these things, they fell back to popery, or "remained in their former ignorance. If bound to "this form, the confession of my faith must be in "my table-book, not in my head.

"But because you speak of intention, I will apply "it thus: if you come hither with a good intention "to be informed, the whole work will sort to the "better effect; but if your intention be to go as "you came, whatsoever shall be said, it will prove "the intention is very material and essential to the "end of this present action.

"As for the nine assertions you speak of, I can-"not suddenly answer, not knowing what those pro-"positions of Lambeth be."

Bishop of London.—"May it please your majesty, "this was the occasion of them: by reason of some "controversies arising in Cambridge about certain "points of divinity, my lord's grace assembled some "divines of special note to set down their opinions, "which they drew into nine Assertions, and so sent "them to the university for the appeasing of those "quarrels."

His Majesty.—"When such questions arise "amongst scholars, the quietest proceedings were to

[x] [Barlow, ib. p. 38.]

" determine them in the university, and not to stuff A.D. 1603.
" the Book of Articles with all conclusions theo- 1 James.
" logical.

" Secondly, the better course would be to punish " the broachers of false doctrine, than to multiply " Articles, which, if never so many, cannot prevent " the contrary opinions of men till they be heard."

Dean of Paul's.—" May it please your majesty, " I am nearly concerned in this matter, by reason " of a controversy betwixt me and some other in " Cambridge, upon a proposition which I there deli- " vered; namely, that whosoever (though before " justified) did commit any grievous sin, as adultery, " murder, &c., do become *ipso facto* subject to God's " wrath, and guilty of damnation, *quoad præsentem* " *statum*, until they repent. Yet, so that those who " are justified according to the purpose of God's " election, (though they might fall into grievous " sin, and thereby into the present estate of dam- " nation,) never totally nor finally fall from justifi- " cation, but are in time renewed by God's spirit " unto a lively faith and repentance. Against this " doctrine some did oppose, teaching that persons " once truly justified, though falling into grievous " sins, remained still in the state of justification, " before they actually repented of these sins; yea, " and though they never repented of them, through " forgetfulness or sudden death, they nevertheless " were justified and saved."

His Majesty.—" I dislike this doctrine, there being " a necessity of conjoining repentance and holiness " of life with true faith; and that is hypocrisy, and " not justifying faith, which is severed from them. " For although predestination and election depend

A.D. 1603. 1 James. "not on any qualities, actions, or works of man "which are mutable, but on God's eternal decree, "yet such is the necessity of repentance after known "sins committed, that without it no reconciliation "with God, or remission of sins."

Dr. Reynolds.—"The Catechism in the Common "Prayer Book is too brief, and that by Mr. Nowell "(late dean of Paul's) too long for novices to learn "by heart. I request, therefore, that one uniform "Catechism may be made, and none other generally "received [y]."

His Majesty.—"I think the doctor's request very "reasonable, yet so that the Catechism may be made "in the fewest and plainest affirmative terms that "may be,—not like the many ignorant Catechisms "in Scotland, set out by every one who was the "*son of a good man*; insomuch that what was "Catechism doctrine in one congregation, was "scarcely received as orthodox in another. And "herein I would have two rules observed: first, "that curious and deep questions be avoided in the "fundamental instruction of a people; secondly, "that there should not be so general a departure "from the papists, that every thing should be ac-"counted an error wherein we agree with them."

Dr. Reynolds.—"Great is the profanation of the "sabbath-day, and contempt of your majesty's pro-"clamation, which I earnestly desire may be re-"formed."

This motion found an unanimous consent.

Dr. Reynolds.—"May your majesty be pleased "that the Bible be new translated, such as are

[y] [Barlow, ib. p. 43.]

"extant not answering the original." And he instanced in three particulars: A. D. 1603. 1 James.

	In the Original.	*Ill Translated.*
Gal. iv. 25.	συνστοιχεῖ	Bordereth.
Psalm cv. 28.	They were not disobedient.	They were not obedient.
Psalm cvi. 30.	Phinehas executed judgment.	Phinehas prayed.

Bishop of London.—"If every man's humour "might be followed, there would be no end of "translating."

His Majesty.—"I profess I could never yet see a "Bible well translated in English; but I think that "of all, that of Geneva is the worst. I wish some "special pains were taken for an uniform trans-"lation; which should be done by the best learned "in both universities, then reviewed by the bishops, "presented to the privy council, lastly ratified by "royal authority to be read in the whole church, "and no other."

Bishop of London.—"But it is fit that no mar-"ginal notes should be added thereunto."

His Majesty.—"That caveat is well put in; for "in the Geneva translation some notes are partial, "untrue, seditious, and savouring of traitorous con-"ceits: as when, from Exodus i. 19, disobedience to "kings is allowed in a marginal note; and, 2 Chron. "xv. 16, king Asa taxed in the note for only depos-"ing his mother for idolatry, and not killing her. "To conclude this point, let errors in matters of "faith be amended, and indifferent things be inter-"preted, and a gloss added unto them; for, as Bar-"tolus de Regno saith, 'Better a king with some "weakness, than still a change;' so rather a church

A. D. 1603. 1 James.

"with some faults, than an innovation. And surely, "if these were the greatest matters that grieved "you, I need not have been troubled with such "importunate complaints."

Dr. Reynolds.—"May it please your majesty that "unlawful and seditious books be suppressed; such "as Ficlerus, a papist, *de jure magistratus in sub-"ditos* [z], applied against the late queen for the "pope [a]."

Bishop of London.—"There is no such licentious "divulging of those books; and none have liberty, "by authority, to buy them, except such as Dr. "Reynolds, who was supposed would confute them. "And if such books come into the realm by secret "conveyances, perfect notice cannot be had of their "importation. Besides, Ficlerus was a great dis-"ciplinarian; whereby it appears what advantage "that sort gave unto the papists, who, *mutatis per-"sonis*, apply their own arguments against princes "of their religion; though, for my part, I detest "both the author and applier alike."

The Lord Cecil.—"Indeed the unlimited liberty "of dispersing popish and seditious pamphlets in "Paul's Churchyard, and both the universities, hath "done much mischief; but especially one called "*Speculum Tragicum.*"

His Majesty.—"That is a dangerous book indeed."

Lord H. Howard.—"Both for matter and inten-"tion."

Lord Chancellor.—"Of such books, some are

[z] [Johan. Baptista Ficklerus de jure magistratuum in subditos et officio subditorum erga magistratus. Ingolst. 1578, 8vo. See Cat. Biblioth. Tigur. V. 261, ed. 1809. 12mo.]

[a] [Barlow, ib. p. 48.]

" Latin, some are English; but the last dispersed A. D. 1603. 1 James.
" do most harm."

Secretary Cecil.—" But my lord of London, and " no man else, hath done what he could to suppress " them."

His Majesty.—" Dr. Reynolds, you are a better " college-man than a statesman, if meaning to tax " the bishop of London for suffering those books " between the secular priests and Jesuits to be pub- " lished, which he did by warrant from the council, " to nourish a schism betwixt them."

Lord Cecil.—" Such books were tolerated, because " by them the title of Spain was confuted."

Lord Treasurer.—" And because therein it ap- " pears, by the testimony of the priests themselves, " that no papists are put to death for conscience " only, but for treason."

Dr. Reynolds.—" Indeed I meant not such books " as were printed in England, but only such as came " from beyond the seas [b]. And now, to proceed to " the second general point, concerning the planting " of learned ministers, I desire they be in every " parish [c]."

His Majesty.—" I have consulted with my bishops

[b] [Barlow, ib. p. 51.]

[c] [" It is come to that pass " now," said the bishop, " that " some sort of men thought it " the only duty required of a " minister to spend the time " in speaking out of a pulpit, " sometimes (God wot) very " undiscreetly and unlearned- " ly; and this with so great " injury and prejudice to the " celebration of divine service, " that some ministers would " be content to walk in the " churchyard till sermon-time, " rather than to be present at " public prayer." This irre- verential practice among the nonconformists was carried to great lengths, with a view to bring the Common Prayer into disrepute. It is frequently mentioned in the writings of the puritans of that time, as a matter of commendation rather than otherwise.]

A.D. 1603. 1 James. "about it, whom I have found willing and ready "herein; but, as *subita evacuatio* is *periculosa*, so "*subita mutatio:* it cannot presently be performed, "the universities not affording them; and yet they "afford moe learned men than the realm doth "maintenance, which must be first provided. In "the mean time, ignorant ministers, if young, are "to be removed, if there be no hope of amendment; "if old, their death must be expected, because Jeru- "salem cannot be built up in a day."

Bishop of Winchester.—"Lay patrons most cause "the insufficiency of the clergy, presenting mean "clerks to their cures, the law admitting of such "sufficiency; and if the bishop refuseth them, pre- "sently a *Quare impedit* is sent out against him."

Bishop of London.—"Because this, I see, is a "time of moving petitions, may I humbly present "two or three to your majesty: first, that there "may be amongst us a praying ministry; it being "now come to pass, that men think it is the only "duty of ministers to spend their time in the pulpit. "I confess, in a church newly to be planted, preach- "ing is most necessary; not so in one long esta- "blished, that prayer should be neglected [d]."

His Majesty.—"I like your motion exceeding "well, and dislike the hypocrisy of our time, who "place all their religion in the ear; whilst prayer, "so requisite and acceptable if duly performed, is "accounted and used as the least part of religion."

Bishop of London.—"My second motion is, that "until learned men may be planted in every con- "gregation, godly homilies may be read therein."

[d] This he spake kneeling.

His Majesty.—"I approve your motion, especially "where the living is not sufficient for the mainte- "nance of a learned preacher. Also, where there "be multitudes of sermons, there I would have "homilies read divers times." A.D. 1603. 1 James.

Here the king asked the assent of the plaintiffs, and they confessed it.

"A preaching ministry is best; but where it may "not be had, godly prayers and exhortations do "much good."

Lord Chancellor [e].—"Livings rather want learned "men, than learned men livings; many in the uni- "versities pining for want of places. I wish, there- "fore, some may have single coats, [one living,] "before others have doublets, [pluralities.] And "this method I have observed in bestowing the "king's benefices."

Bishop of London.—"I commend your honourable "care that way; but a doublet is necessary in cold "weather."

Lord Chancellor.—"I dislike not the liberty of "our church in granting to one man two benefices, "but speak out of mine own purpose and practice, "grounded on the aforesaid reason."

Bishop of London.—"My last motion is, that "pulpits may not be made pasquils, wherein every "discontented fellow may traduce his superiors."

His Majesty.—"I accept what you offer, for the "pulpit is no place of personal reproof. Let them "complain to me, if injured."

Bishop of London.—"If your majesty shall leave "yourself open to admit of all complaints, your

[e] Egerton, lord Ellesmere.

A.D. 1603. 1 James. "highness shall never be quiet, nor your under-
"officers regarded, whom every delinquent, when
"censured, will threaten to complain of."

His Majesty.—"I mean they shall complain to
"me by degrees: first to the ordinary, from him to
"the archbishop, from him to the lords of the coun-
"cil; and if in all these no remedy be found, then
"to myself."

Dr. Reynolds.—"I come now to subscription [f], as
"a great impeachment to a learned ministry, and
"therefore entreat it may not be exacted as here-
"tofore; for which many good men are kept out,
"though otherwise willing to subscribe to the sta-
"tutes of the realm, articles of religion, and the
"king's supremacy. The reason of their backward-
"ness to subscribe is, because the Common Prayer
"enjoineth the Apocrypha books to be read in the
"church, although some chapters therein contain
"manifest errors repugnant to scripture. For in-
"stance, (Ecclus. xlviii. 10,) Elias in person is said
"to come before Christ; contrary to what is in the
"New Testament [g] of Elias in resemblance, that is,
"John the Baptist."

Bishop of London.—"Most of the objections
"against those books are the old cavils of the Jews,
"renewed by St. Jerome, who first called them
"Apocrypha [h]; which opinion, upon Rufinus his
"challenge, he, after a sort, disclaimed."

[f] [Barlow, ib. p. 58.] This concerned the fourth general head, viz. the Communion Book, as he first propounded it; however, here he took occasion to urge it.

[g] Matt. xi. 14; Luke i. 17.

[h] [Præf. in lib. Regum et in Prov. Salom. Hooker, E. P. v. 20, §. 8. Ford in Art. VI.]

Bishop of Winchester.—"Indeed St. Jerome saith, A. D. 1603. 1 James.
"*Canonici sunt ad informandos mores, non ad con-*
"*firmandam fidem.*"

His Majesty.—"To take an even order[i] betwixt "both, I would not have all canonical books read in "the church, [unless there were one to interpret,] "nor any chapter out of the Apocrypha wherein any "error is contained; wherefore let Dr. Reynolds "note those chapters in the Apocrypha books "wherein those offences are, and bring them to the "archbishop of Canterbury against Wednesday next. "And now, doctor, proceed."

Dr. Reynolds.—"The next scruple against sub-"scription is, because it is twice set down in the "Common Prayer Book, 'Jesus said to his dis-"ciples;' when, by the text in the original, it is "plain that he spake to the Pharisees."

His Majesty.—"Let the word 'disciples' be omit-"ted, and the words 'Jesus said' be printed in a "different letter."

Mr. Knewstub.—"I take exceptions at the cross "in baptism, whereat the weak brethren are offended, "contrary to the counsel of the apostle, Rom. xiv. "2 Cor. viii.[j]"

His Majesty.—"*Distingue tempora, et concordabunt* "*scripturæ.* Great the difference betwixt those "times and ours: then, a church not fully settled; "now, ours long established. How long will such

[i] Viz. in the dominical gospels.

[j] [Barlow, ib. p 65.] Here we omit Mr. Knewstub his exception against the interrogatories in baptism, because he spake so perplexedly that his meaning is not to be collected therein.

A. D. 1603. 1 James. "brethren be weak? Are not *forty-five* years sufficient for them to grow strong in? Besides, who pretends this weakness? We require not subscriptions of laics and idiots, but of preachers and ministers, who are not still, I trow, to be fed with milk, being enabled to feed others. Some of them are strong enough, if not headstrong; conceiving themselves able enough to teach him who last spake for them, and all the bishops in the land."

Mr. Knewstub.—"It is questionable whether the church hath power to institute an outward significant sign."

Bishop of London.—"The cross in baptism is not used otherwise than a ceremony."

Bishop of Winchester.—"Kneeling, lifting up of the hands, knocking of the breast, are significant ceremonies, and these may lawfully be used."

Dean of the Chapel.—"The Rabbins write that the Jews added both signs and words at the institution of the Passover; viz. when they ate sour herbs, they said, 'Take and eat these in remembrance,' &c,; when they drank wine, they said, 'Drink this in remembrance,' &c. Upon which addition and tradition, our Saviour instituted the sacrament of his last Supper; thereby approving a church may institute and retain a sign significant."

His Majesty.—"I am exceeding well satisfied in this point, but would be acquainted about the antiquity of the use of the cross."

Dr. Reynolds.—"It hath been used ever since the apostles' time; but the question is, how ancient the use thereof hath been in baptism."

Dean of Westminster.—"It appears out of Ter- A. D. 1603. 1 James.
"tullian, Cyprian, and Origen, that it was used *in* ——
"*immortali lavacro* [k]."

Bishop of Winchester.—"In Constantine's time "it was used in baptism."

His Majesty.—"If so, I see no reason but that we "may continue it."

Mr. Knewstub.—"Put the case the church hath "power to add significant signs, it may not add "them where Christ hath already ordained them; "which is as derogatory to Christ's institution as if "one should add to the great seal of England."

His Majesty.—"The case is not alike, seeing the "sacrament is fully finished before any mention of "the cross is made therein."

Mr. Knewstub.—"If the church hath such a "power, the greatest scruple is, how far the ordi- "nance of the church bindeth, without impeaching "Christian liberty."

His Majesty,—"I will not argue that point with "you, but answer as kings in parliament, *Le roy* "*s'avisera.* This is like Mr. John Black, a beard- "less boy, who told me the last conference in Scot- "land [l] that he would hold conformity with his "majesty in matters of doctrine, but every man "for ceremonies was to be left to his own liberty. "But I will have none of that; I will have one "doctrine, one discipline, one religion, in substance "and in ceremony. Never speak more to that "point, how far you are bound to obey."

Dr. Reynolds.—"Would that the cross (being "superstitiously abused in popery) were abandoned,

[k] [Quoted at length in Hooker, E. P. v. 65, §. 8.]
[l] December, 1602.

A.D. 1603. 1 James. "as the brazen serpent was stamped to powder by "Hezekias, because abused to idolatry."

His Majesty.—"Inasmuch as the cross was abused "to superstition in time of popery, it doth plainly "imply that it was well used before. I detest their "courses who peremptorily disallow of all things "which have been abused in popery, and know not "how to answer the objections of the papists when "they charge us with novelties, but by telling them "we retain the primitive use of things, and only "forsake their novel corruptions. Secondly, no "resemblance betwixt the brazen serpent (a mate-"rial, visible thing) and the sign of the cross, made "in the air. Thirdly, papists, as I am informed, "did never ascribe any spiritual grace to the cross "in baptism. Lastly, material crosses, to which "people fell down in time of popery, (as the idola-"trous Jews to the brazen serpent,) are already "demolished, as you desire."

Mr. Knewstub.—"I take exception at the wearing "of the surplice, a kind of garment used by the "priests of Isis [l]."

His Majesty.—"I did not think, till of late, it "had been borrowed from the heathen, because "commonly called *a rag of popery*. Seeing now "we border not upon heathens, neither are any of "them conversant with or commorant amongst us, "thereby to be confirmed in paganism,—I see no "reason but, for comeliness sake, it may be con-"tinued."

Dr. Reynolds.—"I take exception at these words "in the marriage, 'With my body I thee wor-"ship [m].'"

[l] [Barlow, ib. p. 74.]

[m] [Barlow, ib. p. 75.]

His Majesty.—"I was made believe the phrase "imported no less than divine adoration, but find it "an usual English term, as when we say, 'A gen- "tleman of worship;' and it agreeth with the scrip- "tures, *giving honour to the wife.* As for you, Dr. "Reynolds, many men speak of Robin Hood, who "never shot in his bow. If you had a good wife "yourself, you would think all worship and honour "you could do her were well bestowed on her [n]."

A. D. 1603. 1 James.

Dean of Sarum.—"Some take exception at the "ring in marriage."

Dr. Reynolds.—"I approve it well enough."

His Majesty.—"I was married with a ring, and "think others scarce well married without it."

Dr. Reynolds.—"Some take exceptions at the "Churching of Women, by the name of purifica- "tion."

His Majesty.—"I allow it very well: women, "being loth of themselves to come to church, I "like this or any other occasion to draw them "thither."

Dr. Reynolds.—"My last exception is against "committing ecclesiastical censures to lay-chancel- "lors; the rather, because it was ordered, anno "1571, that lay-chancellors, in matters of correc- "tion, and, anno [1584 and] 1589, in matters of "instance, should not excommunicate any, but be "done only by them who had power of the keys; "though the contrary is commonly practised [o]."

His Majesty.—"I have conferred with my bishops "about this point, and such order shall be taken

[n] This the king spake smiling. [o] [Barlow, ib p 77.]

A.D. 1603. 1 James. "therein as is convenient. Mean time, go on to "some other matter."

Dr. Reynolds.—"I desire that, according to cer- "tain provincial constitutions, the clergy may have "meetings every three weeks [p].

i. "First, in rural deaneries, therein to have pro- "phesying, as archbishop Grindall and other bishops "desired of her late majesty.

ii. "That such things as could not be resolved "on there, might be referred to the archdeacon's "visitations.

iii. "And so to the episcopal synod, [where the "bishop with his presbytery] shall determine such "points before not decided."

His Majesty.—"If you aim at a Scottish presby- "tery, it agreeth as well with monarchy as God and "the devil. Then Jack, and Tom, and Will, and "Dick, shall meet and censure me and my council. "Therefore I reiterate my former speech, *Le roy s'avi- "sera.* Stay, I pray, for one seven years, before you "demand; and then, if you find me grow pursy and "fat, I may perchance hearken unto you, for that "government will keep me in breath, and give me "work enough. I shall speak of one matter more, "somewhat out of order, but it skilleth not. Dr. "Reynolds, you have often spoken for my suprem- "acy, and it is well; but know you any, here or "elsewhere, who like of the present government "ecclesiastical, and dislike my supremacy?"

Dr. Reynolds.—"I know none."

His Majesty.—"Why, then, I will tell you a tale.

[p] [Barlow, ib. p. 78.]

" After that the religion restored by king Edward A. D. 1603.
" the Sixth was soon overthrown by queen Mary 1 James.
" here in England, we in Scotland felt the effect
" of it; for thereupon Mr. Knox writes to the queen
" regent, a virtuous and moderate lady, telling her
" that she was the supreme head of the church;
" and charged her, as she would answer it at God's
" tribunal, to take care of Christ his evangil, in
" suppressing the popish prelates, who withstood
" the same. But how long, trow you, did this con-
" tinue? Even till, by her authority, the popish
" bishops were repressed; and Knox, with his ad-
" herents, being brought in, made strong enough.
" Then began they to make small account of her
" supremacy; when, according to that more light
" wherewith they were illuminated, they made a
" farther reformation of religion. How they used
" the poor lady, my mother, is not unknown; and
" how they dealt with me in my minority. I thus
" apply it. My lords, the bishops, I may thank you
" that these men plead thus for my supremacy [q].
" They think they cannot make their party good
" against you, but by appealing unto it; but if once
" you were out, and they in, I know what would
" become of my supremacy; for *no bishop, no king.*
" I have learned of what cut they have been, who,
" preaching before me since my coming into Eng-
" land, passed over with silence my being supreme
" governor in causes ecclesiastical. Well, doctor,
" have you any thing else to say?"

Dr. Reynolds.—" No more, if it please your ma-
" jesty."

[q] This he said putting his hand to his hat.

A. D. 1603. 1 James. *His Majesty.*—"If this be all your party hath to "say, I will make them conform themselves, or else "I will harry them out of the land, or else do "worse."

Thus ended the second day's Conference; and the third began on the Wednesday following, many knights, civilians, and doctors of the law being admitted thereunto, because the High Commission was the principal matter in debate.

His Majesty.—"I understand that the parties "named in the high commission are too many and "too mean, and the matters they deal with base, "such as ordinaries at home in their courts might "censure [r]."

Archbishop of Canterbury.—"It is requisite their "number should be many; otherwise I should be "forced oftentimes to sit alone, if, in the absence "of the lords of the council, bishops and judges at "law, some deans and doctors, were not put into "that commission, whose attendance I might com-"mand with the more authority. I have often "complained of the meanness of matters handled "therein, but cannot remedy it; for though the "offence be small, that the ordinary may, the "offender ofttimes is so great and contumacious, "that the ordinary dare not punish him, and so is "forced to crave help at the high commission."

A nameless Lord [s].—"The proceedings in that "court are like the Spanish inquisition, wherein "men are urged to subscribe more than law re-"quireth, and by the oath *ex officio* forced to

[r] [Barlow, ib. p. 85.]

[s] I dare not guess him, for fear of failing.

" accuse themselves; being examined upon twenty A. D. 1603. 1 James.
" or twenty-four Articles on a sudden, without
" deliberation, and for the most part against them-
" selves."

In proof hereof he produced a letter of an ancient honourable counsellor, anno 1584, verifying this usage to two ministers in Cambridgeshire.

Archbishop of Canterbury. — " Your lordship is " deceived in the manner of proceeding; for, if the " Article touch the party for life, liberty, or scandal, " he may refuse to answer. I can say nothing to " the particulars of the letter, because twenty years " since, yet doubt not but at leisure to give your " lordship satisfaction."

Lord Chancellor.—" There is necessity and use of " the oath *ex officio*, in divers courts and causes [t]."

His Majesty.—" Indeed civil proceedings only " punish facts; but it is requisite that fame and " scandals be looked unto in courts ecclesiastical, " and yet great moderation is to be used therein.

i. " In *gravioribus criminibus*.

ii. " In such whereof there is a public fame, " caused by the inordinate demeanour of the of- " fender."

And here he soundly described the oath *ex officio*, for the ground thereof, the wisdom of the law therein, the manner of proceeding thereby, and profitable effect from the same.

Archbishop of Canterbury.—" Undoubtedly your " majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's " Spirit."

[t] [Barlow, ib. p. 92.] Here we omit a discourse about subscription, because not methodized into the speech of several persons.

A. D. 1603. 1 James.

Bishop of London.—"I protest my heart melteth "with joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, "hath given us such a king, as, since Christ's time, "the like hath not been [u]."

Then passed there much discourse between the king, the bishops, and the lords, about the quality of the persons, and causes in the high commission; rectifying excommunications in matters of less moment; punishing recusants; providing divines for Ireland, Wales, and the northern borders. Afterwards the four preachers were called in, and such alterations in the liturgy were read unto them which the bishops, by the king's advice, had made; and to which, by their silence, they seemed to consent.

His Majesty.—"I see the exceptions against the "Communion Book are matters of weakness; there- "fore, if the persons reluctant be discreet, they will "be won betimes, and by good persuasions; if in- "discreet, better they were removed, for by their "factions many are driven to be papists. From "you, Dr. Reynolds, and your associates, I expect "obedience and humility, (the marks of honest and "good men,) and that you would persuade others "abroad by your example."

Dr. Reynolds.—"We here do promise to perform "all duties to bishops, as reverend fathers, and to "join with them against the common adversary for "the quiet of the church."

Mr. Chaderton.—"I request the wearing of the "surplice and the cross in baptism may not be urged "on some godly ministers in Lancashire, fearing, if "forced unto them, many won by their preaching

[u] This he spake on his knee.

" of the gospel will revolt to popery; and I parti- A. D. 1603.
" cularly instance in the vicar of Ratsdale [x]." 1 James.

Archbishop of Canterbury.—" You could not have " light upon a worse; for not many years ago, as " my lord chancellor knows [y], it was proved before " me that by his unreverent usage of the eucharist " (dealing the bread out of a basket, every man " putting in his hand and taking out a piece) he " made many loathe the communion, and refuse to " come to church."

His Majesty.—" It is not my purpose, and I dare " say it is not the bishops' intent, presently and out " of hand to enforce these things, without fatherly " admonitions, conferences, and persuasions, pre- " mised; but I wish it were examined whether such " Lancashire ministers, by their pains and preaching, " have converted any from popery, and withal be " men of honest life and quiet conversation. If so, " let letters be written to the bishop of Chester [z] " (who is a grave and good man) to that purpose, " that some favour may be afforded unto them; and " let the lord archbishop write the letters."

Bishop of London.—" If this be granted, the copy " of these letters will fly all over England, and then " all nonconformists will make the like request; and " so no fruit follow of this conference, but things " will be worse than they were before. I desire, " therefore, a time may be limited, within the com- " pass whereof they shall conform."

His Majesty.—" I assent thereunto; and let the " bishop of the diocese set down the time."

[x] [Barlow, ib. p. 99.] This he spake kneeling.

[y] Who, being there present, averred the same.

[z] This was Richard Vaughan, afterwards bishop of London.

A. D. 1603. 1 James. *Mr. Knewstub.*—"I request the like favour of "forbearance to some honest ministers in Suffolk; "for it will make much against their credits in the "country to be now forced to the surplice, and cross "in baptism [a]."

Archbishop of Canterbury [was answering.]

His Majesty.—"Nay, sir, let me alone to answer "him. Sir, you shew yourself an uncharitable man. "We have here taken pains, and, in the end, have "concluded on unity and uniformity; and you, for- "sooth, must prefer the credits of a few private "men before the peace of the church. This is just "the Scotch argument, when any thing was con- "cluded which disliked some humours. Let them "either conform themselves shortly, or they shall "hear of it."

Lord Cecil.—"The indecency of ambuling com- "munions is very offensive, and hath driven many "from the church."

Bishop of London.—"And, Mr. Chaderton, I could "tell you of sitting communions in Emanuel Col- "lege."

Mr. Chaderton.—"It is so, because of the seats so "placed as they be; and yet we have some kneeling "also in our chapel."

His Majesty.—"No more hereof for the present, "seeing they have jointly promised hereafter to be "quiet and obedient."

Whereat he rose up to depart into an inner chamber.

Bishop of London.—"God's goodness be blessed "for your majesty, and give health and prosperity to

[a] Here he fell down on his knees.

"your highness, your gracious queen, the young "prince, and all the royal issue." A. D. 1603. 1 James.

Thus ended the three days' conference, wherein how discreetly the king carried himself, posterity (out of the reach of flattery) is the most competent judge, such matters being most truly discerned at distance [b]. It is generally said, that herein he went above himself; that the bishop of London appeared even with himself; and Dr. Reynolds fell much beneath himself. Others observed that archbishop Whitgift spake most gravely; Bancroft, when out of passion, most politicly; Bilson most learnedly; —and, of the divines, Mr. Reynolds most largely; Knewstub most affectionately; Chaderton most sparingly. In this scene, only Dr. Sparks was *κωφὸν πρόσωπον*, making use of his hearing, not speech; converted, it seems, to the truth of what was spoken, and soon after setting forth a treatise of unity and uniformity. The general censure of the conferencers.

But the nonconformists complained that the king sent for their divines, not to have their scruples satisfied, but his pleasure propounded; not that he The nonconformists' complaint.

[b] [Sir John Harrington mentions this conference in his Nugæ Antiquæ, I. 181, (ed. 1804,) but gives no very commendable account of the king's oratory; who, it seems, was not always very select in his language. See the last Sect. of this reign. Dr. James Mountague, in a letter of the same date to his mother, has also given a brief account of it. Winwood, II. 13. From his letters, as well as from Johnson's History, it should seem that the puritan divines who assisted at the conference were satisfied with its results. See Johnson, p. 380. The king's own opinion of his achievements on this occasion may be seen in his letters, Strype's Whitgift, App. p. 239. See also the new edition of Dodd's Church History, with the notes, vol. IV. p. 21.]

A. D. 1603. 1 James. might know what they could say, but they what he would do in the matter. Besides, no wonder if Dr. Reynolds a little lost himself, whose eyes were partly dazzled with the light of the king's majesty, partly daunted with the heat of his displeasure. Others complain that this conference is partially set forth only by Dr. Barlow, dean of Chester, their professed adversary, to the great disadvantage of their divines. And when the Israelites go down to the Philistines to whet all their iron tools, no wonder if they set a sharp edge on their own, and a blunt one on their enemies' weapons.

The product of this conference. This conference produced some alterations in the liturgy. Women's baptizing of infants, formerly frequent, hereafter forbidden; in the rubric of absolution, remission of sins inserted; confirmation termed also an examination of children; and some words altered in the dominical gospels, with a resolution for a new translation of the Bible. But whereas it was hitherto disputable whether the north (where he long lived) or the south (whither he lately came) should prevail most, on the king's judgment, in church-government, this doubt was now clearly decided. Henceforward many cripples in conformity were cured of their former halting therein; and such who knew not their own, till they knew the king's mind in this matter, for the future quietly digested the ceremonies of the church.

The copy of the millenary petition. We have formerly made mention of the Millenarius Petition for Reformation, which about this time was solemnly presented to his majesty, and which here we have truly exemplified:

" *The humble Petition of the Ministers of the Church* A. D. 1603.
" *of England, desiring Reformation of certain* 1 James.
" *Ceremonies and Abuses of the Church* [c].

" To the most Christian and excellent prince, our " gracious and dread sovereign James, by the grace " of God, &c., we, the ministers of the church of " England that desire reformation, wish a long, " prosperous, and happy reign over us in this life, " and in the next everlasting salvation.

" Most gracious and dread sovereign, seeing it " hath pleased the Divine Majesty, to the great " comfort of all good Christians, to advance your " highness, according to your just title, to the peace- " able government of this church and commonwealth " of England: We, the ministers of the gospel in " this land, neither as factious men affecting a popu- " lar parity in the church, nor as schismatics aiming " at the dissolution of the state ecclesiastical, but as " the faithful servants of Christ and loyal subjects " to your majesty, desiring and longing for the re- " dress of divers abuses of the church, could do no " less, in our obedience to God, service to your " majesty, love to his church, than acquaint your " princely majesty with our particular griefs; for, as " your princely pen writeth, 'The king, as a good " physician, must first know what peccant humours " his patient naturally is most subject unto, before " he can begin his cure [d].' And, although divers of

[c] [Presented 4th April, 1604. Dated Jan. 14, 1603. Kennet's MS. of this reign, in the British Museum, p. 27.]

[d] [ΒΑΣ. ΔΩΡΟΝ, p. 159. In king James's Works, ed. 1616.]

A.D. 1603. 1 James. "us that sue for reformation have formerly, in "respect of the times, subscribed to the book, (some "upon protestation, some upon expositions given "them, some with condition,) rather than the church "should have been deprived of their labour and "ministry; yet now we, to the number of *moe than* "*a thousand*[e] of your majesty's subjects and minis- "ters, all groaning as under a common burden of "human rites and ceremonies, do with one joint "consent humble ourselves at your majesty's feet, "to be eased and relieved in this behalf. Our "humble suit then unto your majesty is, that these "offences following, some may be removed, some "amended, some qualified.

I. "*In the church service.*—That the cross in bap- "tism, interrogatories ministered to infants, con- "firmation, as superfluous may be taken away. "Baptism not to be ministered by women, and so "explained. The cap and surplice not urged. That "examination may go before the communion; that "it be ministered with a sermon. That divers terms "of priests, and absolution, and some other used, "with the ring in marriage, and other such-like in "the book, may be corrected. The longsomeness "of service abridged. Church songs and music "moderated to better edification. That the Lord's "day be not profaned. The rest upon holy days "not so strictly urged. That there may be an "uniformity of doctrine prescribed. No popish "opinion to be any more taught or defended. No

[e] [How men with so much profession can be guilty of so notorious a falsehood as this, is indeed surprising.]

" ministers charged to teach their people to bow at A. D. 1603.
" the name of Jesus. That the canonical scriptures 1 James.
" only be read in the church.

II. " *Concerning church ministers.* — That none " hereafter be admitted into the ministry but able " and sufficient men, and those to preach diligently, " and especially upon the Lord's day. That such " as be already entered, and cannot preach, may " either be removed, and some charitable course " taken with them for their relief; or else to be " forced, according to the value of their livings, to " maintain preachers. That non-residency be not " permitted. That king Edward's statute, for the " lawfulness of ministers' marriage, be revived. That " ministers be not urged to subscribe, but, according " to the law, to the Articles of Religion and the " king's supremacy only.

III. " *For church livings and maintenance.*—That " bishops leave their commendams; some holding " prebends, some parsonages, some vicarages, with " their bishoprics. That double-beneficed men be " not suffered to hold, some two, some three bene- " fices with cure; and some two, three, or four " dignities besides. That impropriations, annexed to " bishoprics and colleges, be demised only to the " preachers' incumbents for the old rent. That the " impropriations of laymen's fee may be charged " with a sixth or seventh part of the worth, to the " maintenance of the preaching minister.

IV. " *For church discipline.*—That the discipline " and excommunication may be administered accord- " ing to Christ's own institution; or at the least, " that enormities may be redressed: as namely, that " excommunication come not forth under the name

A. D. 1603. 1 James. "of lay persons, chancellors, officials, &c. That men "be not excommunicated for trifles and twelve-"penny matters. That none be excommunicated "without consent of his pastor. That the officers "be not suffered to extort unreasonable fees. That "none, having jurisdiction or registers' places, put "out the same to farm. That divers popish canons "(as for restraint of marriage at certain times) be "reversed. That the longsomeness of suits in eccle-"siastical courts (which hang sometime two, three, "four, five, six, or seven years) may be restrained. "That the oath *ex officio*, whereby men are forced "to accuse themselves, be more sparingly used. "That licenses for marriage, without banns asked, "be more cautiously granted.

"These, with such other abuses yet remaining and "practised in the church of England, we are able to "shew not to be agreeable to the scriptures, if it "shall please your highness farther to hear us, or "more at large by writing to be informed, or by "conference among the learned to be resolved. And "yet we doubt not but that, without any farther "process, your majesty (of whose Christian judgment "we have received so good a taste already) is able "of yourself to judge of the equity of this cause. "God, we trust, hath appointed your highness our "physician to heal these diseases. And we say, "with Mordecai to Hester, *Who knoweth whether "you are come to the kingdom for such a time?* "Thus your majesty shall do that which we are "persuaded shall be acceptable to God, honour-"able to your majesty in all succeeding ages, pro-"fitable to his church, (which shall be thereby in-"creased,) comfortable to your ministers, (which

" shall be no more suspended, silenced, disgraced, A. D. 1603. 2 James.
" imprisoned for men's traditions,) and prejudicial
" to none, but to those that seek their own quiet,
" credit, and profit in the world. Thus, with all
" dutiful submission, referring ourselves to your ma-
" jesty's pleasure for your gracious answer, as God
" shall direct you, we most humbly recommend your
" highness to the Divine Majesty; whom we be-
" seech, for Christ his sake, to dispose your royal
" heart to do herein what shall be to his glory, the
" good of his church, and your endless comfort.

" Your Majesty's most humble Subjects,

" THE MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL,

" that desire not a disorderly innovation, but a due
" and godly reformation [f]."

25. This calm and still, but deep petition [g], being The issue of this petition.

[f] [Printed (4to, 1603) as it was presented on the 4th of April, in the following answer of the university of Oxford: " *The Answere of the Vice-* " *Chancellour, the Doctors, both* " *the Proctors, and other the* " *Heads of Houses in the* " *University of Oxford, (agree-* " *able, undoubtedly, to the joint* " *and uniform opinion of all* " *the Deans and Chapters, and* " *all other the learned and obe-* " *dient Clergy of the Church of* " *England,) to the humble Pe-* " *tition of the Ministers of the* " *Church of England, desiring* " *Reformation of certain Cere-* " *monies and Abuses of the* " *Church.* 'Beware of the " concision.' Phil. iii. 2." " Cum sub specie studii per- " fectionis, imperfectionem nul- " lam tolerare possumus aut " in corpore aut in mem- " bris ecclesiæ: tunc diabolum " nos tumefacere superbia su- " perbia et hypocrisi seducere, " moneamur." Calvin adv. Anabapt. art. 2. *At Oxford: Printed by Joseph Barnes, Printer to the University.* 1603. 4to.]

[g] [These words probably are an allusion to the Reply of the University of Oxford, which thus characterises that petition in its Epist. Ded. prefixed to its answer: " *Which we may* " *well resemble unto still-run-* " *ning streams, which are deep-* " *est there where they seem to* " *be most calm.*"]

A. D. 1603. 2 James. (as is aforesaid) presented to the king, it was given out that his majesty lent it a favourable ear; that some great ones about him gave it a consenting entertainment; that some potent strangers (I understand of the Scottish nation) had undertaken the conduct and managing thereof. Whether indeed it was so, God knows, or whether these things were made to make the people; the van pretending a victory, that the rear might follow the more comfortably. Sure it is this petition ran the gauntlet throughout all the prelatical party, every one giving it a lash, some with their pens, moe with their tongues; and the dumb ministers, as they term them, found their speech most vocal against it. The universities (and justly) found themselves much aggrieved, that the petitioners should proportion a seventh part only out of an impropriation in a layman's fee; whilst those belonging to colleges and cathedrals should be demised to the vicars at the old rent, without fine, without improvement: whereas scholars, being children of the prophets, counted themselves most proper for church revenues; and this motion, if effected, would cut off more than the nipples of the breasts of both universities, in point of maintenance.

Universities justly nettled thereat.

26. Cambridge [h] therefore began, and passed a grace in their congregation [i], that whosoever in their university should, by word or writing, oppose the received doctrine and discipline of England, or any part thereof, should *ipso facto* be suspended from their former and excluded from all future degrees [k].

[h] [L'Estrange's Alliance of Divine Offices, &c. p. 23. Heylyn's History of the Presbytery, p. 367.]

[i] [9th June, 1603.]

[k] [This *placet* is published

Oxford followed, (recompensing the slowness of her pace with the firmness of her footing,) making a strong and sharp confutation of the petition. But indeed king James made the most real refutation thereof, not resenting it (whatsoever is pretended) according to the desires and hopes (not to say the reports) of such who presented it; and after his majesty had discountenanced it, some hotspurs of the opposite party began to maintain (many copies thereof being scattered into vulgar hands) that now the property thereof was altered from a petition into a libel, and such papers defamatory of the present government punishable by the statute *primo Elizabethæ.* A. D. 1604. 2 James.

Under favour, I conceive this petition, by us lately exemplified, the proper millenary petition. Otherwise I observe that millenary petition is *vox æquivoca*, and attributed to all petitions with numerous and indefinite subscriptions, which were started this year concerning church reformation. Many there were of this kind, moving for more or less alteration, as the promoters of them stood affected. For all men's desires will then be of the same size, when their bodies shall be of the same stature. Of these, one most remarkable required a subscription in manner as followeth: Other millenary petitions.

" We, whose names are underwritten, do agree to " make our humble petition to the king's majesty, " that the present state of the church may be " farther reformed in all things needful, according " to the rule of God's holy word, and agreeable to

in the original, in the Reply of the University of Oxford, Epist. Ded.]

A. D. 1604. 2 James. "the example of other reformed churches, which "have restored both the doctrine and discipline, as "it was delivered by our Saviour Christ and his "holy apostles."

Two things are remarkable therein: first, that this was no present petition, but a preparative thereunto, which in due time might have proved one, if meeting with proportionable encouragement; secondly, that it went farther than the former, as not being for the καθαιρεῖν, but for the αἴρειν—not for the paring, pruning, and purging, but for the extirpating and abolishing of bishops, and conforming church government to foreign presbytery. Whether the subscribers to this petition were, for the main, a recruit of new persons, or a resumption of those who underwrit the former, I dare not define. Probably many, sensible that before they were petition-bound, enlarged themselves now in their additional desires; for such who ask no more than what they would have, commonly receive less than what they ask, seeing petitions of this nature are seldom granted in full latitude, without some abatement. They allowed, therefore, some over-measure in their requests, that, the surplusage being defalked, the remainder might in some manner give them satisfaction [1].

[1] [In the Reply of the University of Oxford it is stated, "Howbeit as long as it passed "in private (sc. this petition) "under the name of a particular motion made to his most "excellent majesty, we laid "our hands upon our mouths, "and with due reverence ex-"pected in silence the wise "resolution of his religious "heart. But these men, as "they are impatient of delay, "or else to gain credit with "the people, on whom they "greatly do rely, soon after "send forth into all quarters "of the realm store of these "pretended petitions, accom-"panied with such lewd, false,

am the prelatical party complained that, to A.D. 1604. 2 James.
ıumber, the nonconformists did not choose, Unfair
ıe subscribers; not to speak of the ubiqui- dealing in procuring
of some hands, the same being always of hands.
ıt all petitions. Indeed to the first only
were admitted, but to the latter brood of
no hand which had five fingers was refused.
ı that master George (since lord) Goring,
ı knew little and cared less for church
ent, (as unable to govern himself, being
y years since, rather a youth than a man—
ın a youth,) set his hand thereunto, in the
believe, of his mother, a good lady much
to that party; and king James would in
ıt make sport with him, to know what
ıoved him at that age to this subscription [m].
ıgh of these petitioners: perchance we shall
e of them the next parliament.

rd suggestions, as if
king had lent their
favourable ear, and
some kind of con-
ntertainment; as if
s they had done no-
ıereunto they were
ated and encouraged
of special credit
ıighness; as if some
ded strangers had
en their cause . . . .
rse R. H. did make
, that now they had
:he nature of that
schedule, and of an
petition to H. M.
ɜ it a covert kind of
hereby securely, as
ıght, they might de-
d slander not only
ımunion Book, but
ɜ estate of the church

" . . . . which undue and dis-
" honest practice having so
" changed the quality of their
" petition, whether it hath
" brought the contrivers and
" preferers of it within the
" compass of that stat. 1 Eliz.
" and made them liable to the
" penalties of the same, we
" take not upon us to deter-
" mine. Howbeit hereof we
" could not but take notice:
" that, by their impunity, divers
" others very lewdly affected
" have, in divers parts of the
" kingdom, presumed to trou-
" ble H. M. and tax the state
" with the like clamorous libels
" and defamatory supplica-
" tions." Epist. Ded.]

[m] [See the Reply of the University of Oxford, Epist. Ded.]

SECT. II.

TO

MATTHEW GILLYE,

ESQ.

Solomon saith, And there is a friend that is nearer than a brother [a]. *Now, though I have read many writers on the text, your practice is the best comment, which hath most truly expounded it unto me. Accept this, therefore, as the return of the thanks of your respectful friend* [b].

A. D. 1604. 2 James.

The death of archbishop Whitgift.

AUSELESS jealousies attend old age, as appears by archbishop Whitgift, who ended his life, according to his own desire, that he might not live to see the parliament; being more scared than hurt, as fearing some strange opposition therein, and

[a] Prov. xviii. 24.

[b] [An equally honest and hearty commendation of this patron's goodness is given by Fuller in his Pisgah Sight of Palestine: "*Matthæo Gilly "vere generoso et (quod tri-"umpho) parochiano meo Wal-"thamensi. Fratribus meis "pastoribus plures agni con-*

an assault of unconformists on church discipline, fiercer than his age-feebled body should be able to resist [c]. Born he was of ancient parentage, at Great Grimsby in Lincolnshire [d], bred in Cambridge, admitted in Queen's College [e], removed scholar to Pembroke Hall, (where Mr. Bradford was his tutor,) translated fellow to Peter House [f], returned master to Pembroke [g] thence advanced master of Trinity College [h]; successively parson of Teversham [i], prebend of Ely [k], dean of Lincoln [l], bishop of Worcester [m]; where the queen forgave him his first-fruits —a rare gift for her, who was so good an housewife of her revenues. Yea, she constantly called him her little black husband; which favour nothing elated his gravity, carrying himself as one unconcerned in all worldly honour. He survived the queen not a full year, getting his bane by going in a cold morning by barge to Fulham, there to consult with the bishops about managing their matters in the ensuing parliament; and no wonder if those few sparks of natural heat were quickly quenched with

A. D. 1604. 2 James.

"*tingant tales.*" II. 96. In the Worthies, also, he mentions him again as possessing the manor of the parish of Little Oakley, near Harwich, (I. 494,) which it seems he held by right of his wife; and yet, strange to say, no trace of him or his family occurs either in the topographical or genealogical histories of the county of Essex.]

[c] See the Preface to Hampton Court Conference, [where Barlow says of him, then recently dead, "A man happy in "his life and death, loved of "the best while he lived, and "heard of God for his decease; "most earnestly desiring, not "many days before he was "stroken, that he might not "yet live to see this parliament, as near as it was."]

[d] [A. D. 1530.]

[e] [A. D. 1549.]

[f] [A. D. 1555.]

[g] [April 21, 1567.]

[h] [July 4, 1567.]

[i] [A. D. 1571.]

[k] [A. D. 1568.]

[l] [A. D. 1573.]

[m] [A. D. 1576.]

A. D. 1604. 2 James.

a small cold in him, who was then above seventy-two years of age [n]. He died of the palsy, one of the worthiest men that ever the English hierarchy did enjoy [o].

Mr. Prynne, censuring Whitgift, censured.

2. But a modern writer, in his voluminous book [p] against the practices of English prelates, bitterly inveigheth against him, whom he termeth a pontifical (meaneth he paganish, or popish?) bishop, and chargeth him with many misdemeanours. Give me leave a little, without bitterness, both to pass my censure on his book, and make this archbishop his just defence against his calumniation. First, in general, behold the complexion of his whole book, and it is black and swarthy in the uncharitable subject and title thereof: "An Historical Collection of "the several execrable Treasons, Conspiracies, Re-"bellions, Seditions, State Schisms, Contumacies, "Anti-monarchical Practices, and Oppressions of "English Prelates," &c. Thus he weeds men's lives, and makes use only, to their disgrace, of their in-

[n] [Strype's Whitgift, p. 577.]

[o] [According to sir George Paul, "his majesty, being much "troubled with the report of "the archbishop's sickness, "came upon the Tuesday fol-"lowing to visit and comfort "him, with very kind and gra-"cious speeches, saying, '*that "he would beg him of God in "his prayer; which if he could "obtain, he should think it one "of the greatest temporal bless-"ings that could be given him "in this kingdom.*' The arch-"bishop made offer to speak "to his majesty in Latin; but "neither his highness nor any "there present well under-"stood what he said, save only "that by the last words, '*pro "ecclesia Dei, pro ecclesia Dei,*' "(which in earnest manner, "with his eyes and hands lift "up, he oftentimes iterated,) "his majesty conceived (as it "pleased him afterwards to "report) that he continued "the suit which sundry times "before, and at his last at-"tendance on his highness, he "had earnestly recommended "unto his royal and special "care in behalf of the church." Life of Whitgift, §. 133.]

[p] [The Antipathy of the English Lordly Prelacy, &c. p. 149. 4to. 1641.]

firmities; meantime suppressing many eminent ac- A.D. 1604. 2 James.
tions, which his own conscience knows were performed by them. What a monster might be made out of the best beauties in the world, if a limner should leave what is lovely, and only collect into one picture what he findeth amiss in them! I know there be white teeth in the blackest blackamoor, and a black bill in the whitest swan. Worst men have something to be commended, best men something in them to be condemned; only to insist on men's faults, to render them odious, is no ingenious employment. God, we know, so useth his fan, that he keepeth the corn, but driveth away the chaff; but who is he that winnoweth so, as to throw away the good grain, and retain the chaff only?

3. Besides, it containeth untruths, or at the best uncertainties, which he venteth with assurance to posterity. For instance, speaking of Walter Tyrrell [q], the French knight, casually killing king William Rufus in New Forest, with an arrow glancing from a tree, he saith that in all likelihood Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, (our Whitgift's predecessor,) with fore-plotted treason hired Tyrrell to murder the king in this manner. Now to condemn the memory of so pious and learned a man as Anselm was, (though I will not excuse him in all things,) five hundred years after the fact pretended on his own single bare surmise, contrary to the constant current of all authors, no one whispering the least suspicion thereof—hath, I believe, but little of law and nothing of gospel therein. Let the glancing of Tyrrell's arrow mind men how they *bend their bows* His untruth of Anselm.

[q] P. 10.

A. D. 1604. 2 James. *to shoot arrows, even bitter words* [r] at the memory of the deceased, lest it rebound back, not as his did to hit a stander-by, but justly to wound him who unjustly delivered it.

His slander of Whitgift;

4. But to come to our reverend Whitgift. First, he chargeth him for troubling the judges with his contestations about prohibitions, endeavouring to enlarge his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This being the accusation but of a common lawyer, and that in favour of his own courts, I leave to some doctor of the civil or canon law, as most proper to make answer thereunto; only, whereas he saith that Whitgift did it to the prejudice of the queen's prerogative [s], surely she knew her own privileges so well, besides those of her council to teach her, that she would never have so favourably reflected on him, if sensible (wise princes having a tender touch in that point) that he any way went about to abridge her royal authority.

And silly taxing of his train.

5. Secondly, he taxeth him for his extraordinary train of above sixty men-servants; though not so extravagant a number, if his person and place be considered, who were all trained up to martial affairs, and mustered almost every week, his stable being well furnished with store of great horses [t]. But was it a fault, in those martial days, when the invasion of a foreign foe was daily suspected, to fit his family for their own and the kingdom's defence? Did not Abraham, that heavenly prophet and holy patriarch,

[r] Psalm lxiv. 3.

[s] P. 149.

[t] [It was not in Whitgift's power to have declined such a charge, had he desired it: all lords spiritual as well as temporal were obliged to maintain a certain quota of men for the queen's service.]

arm his *trained servants in his own house*[u], in his victorious expedition against the king of Sodom? Yea, if churchmen of an anti-prelatical spirit had not since tampered more dangerously with training of servants, though none of their own, both learning and religion had perchance looked at this day with a more cheerful countenance. A. D. 1604. 2 James.

6. Whereas it intimates that this archbishop had been better employed in training up scholars for the pulpit than soldiers for the field, know that as the latter was performed the former was not quitted by him: witness many worthy preachers bred under him in Trinity College, and more elsewhere relieved by him; yea, his bounty was too large to be confined within the narrow seas—Beza, Drusius, and other foreign protestant divines tasting freely thereof. Nor was his liberality only a cistern for the present age, but a running river from a fresh fountain, to water posterity in that school of Croydon, which he hath beautifully built and bountifully endowed. More might be said in the vindication of this worthy prelate from his reproachful pen; but I purposely forbear, the rather because it is possible that the learned gentleman since, upon a serious review of his own work, and experimental observation of the passages of this age, may be more offended with his own writing herein, than others take just exception thereat. Whitgift's care of and love to scholars.

7. Archbishop Whitgift was buried at Croydon, March 27th[x]; the earl of Worcester and lord Zouch, his pupils, attending his hearse; and bishop His burial, and successor.

[u] Gen. xiv. 14.

[x] [Paul's Life of Whitgift, p. 123.]

A. D. 1604. 2 James. Babington, his pupil also, made his funeral sermon, choosing for his text 2 Chron. xxiv. 15, 16, and paralleling the archbishop's life with gracious Jehoida. Richard Bancroft, bishop of London, brought up in Jesus College, succeeded him in the archbishopric [y]; whose actions, in our ensuing History, will sufficiently deliver his character, without our description thereof.

A beneficial statute for the church.

8. Come we now to the parliament assembled [z]; and amongst the many acts which passed therein, none more beneficial for the church than that which made the king himself, and his successors, incapable of any church land to be conveyed unto them otherwise than for three lives, or twenty-one years. Indeed a statute had formerly been made, (the 13th of queen Eliz.) which, to prevent final alienation of church land, did disable all subjects from accepting them; but in that statute a liberty was left unto the crown to receive the same [a]. It was thought fit to allow to the crown this favourable exception, as to the patron general of the whole English church; and it was but reason for the sovereign, who originally gave all the loaf to the church, on occasion to resume a good shiver thereof.

A contrivance by the crown to wrong the church.

9. But he who shuts ninety-nine gates of Thebes, and leaveth one open, shuts none in effect. Covetousness (shall I say an apt scholar to learn, or an able master to teach, or both?) quickly found out a way to invade the lands of the church, and evade

[y] [And took possession of the see, Dec. 10, 1604, and was confirmed in the presence of the prince and all the great lords of state then in and about London. Winwood's Papers, II. 41.]

[z] [19th March, 1604.]

[a] Because it was not forbidden in the statute in express words.

the penalty of the law, which thus was contrived: some potent courtier first covertly contracts with a bishop (some whereof, though spiritual in title, were too temporal in truth, as more minding their private profit than the public good of the church) to pass over such a proportion of land to the crown. This done, the said courtier begs the land of the queen, even before her highness had tasted thereof, or the lips of her exchequer ever touched the same; and so an estate thereof is settled on him and his heirs for ever. And thus Covetousness came to her desired end, though forced to go a longer journey, and fain to fetch a farther compass about. A.D. 1604. 2 James.

10. For instance: Dr. Coldwell, doctor of physic and bishop of Salisbury, gave his see a very strong purge when he consented to the alienation of Sherborne manor from his bishopric; indeed the good old man was shot between wind and water, and his consent was assaulted in a dangerous juncture of time to give any denial; for after he was elected bishop of Salisbury, and after all his church preferments were disposed of to other persons, yet before his election was confirmed past a possibility of a legal reversing thereof, sir Walter Raleigh is importunate with him to pass Sherborne to the crown, and effected it, though indeed a good ground-rent was reserved to the bishopric. Presently sir Walter beggeth the same of the queen, and obtained it [b]. Two eminent instances of former alienation of bishopric lands.

[b] [This is not the only instance of Raleigh's rapacity. When Thomas Godwin, bishop of Bath and Wells, fell into the queen's disfavour for marrying a second time, sir Walter, who had long laboured to get the manor of Banwell from this bishopric, took occasion to represent this marriage with all the unfavourable circumstances possible to the queen, and instantly pursued the bishop with letters and sharp

A. D. 1604. 2 James.

Much after the same manner, sir [Henry] Killegrew got the manor of Crediton (a bough almost as big as all the rest of the body) from the church of Exeter, by the consent of Dr. Babington, the bishop thereof [c].

messages from her majesty, till at last, to make his peace with her, he was obliged to part with the manor of Wyvelscomb, having held out for some time to no purpose. See Wood's Ath. I. 710. I am not aware that either of these circumstances has been noticed by sir Walter's panegyrists. Coldwell had the temporalities of his see restored to him, Jan. 14, 1592. In Murdin's State Papers, p. 675, is a letter from Coldwell to Henry Brooke, complaining of Raleigh's rapacity, who was then attempting to wrest from Salisbury the manors of Burton, Holmes, and Upcorne. This letter is dated 10th April, 1594.]

[c] [With regard to the sacrilegious alienation of church property in the late queen's reign, it must be remembered that the bishops who consented to such spoliation, though bound to protest against it and defend the church against aggressions from *any* quarter, could now do little else than submit. As sir John Harrington observes on a similar occasion, "*Potentes* "*cum rogant jubent;* and as "long as there was not *quid* "*dabis* nor *hoc dabis*, but *hæc* "*auferam*," they had but one alternative,—either to desert the church, or, by refusing submission, to make matters worse. The queen treated the church and churchmen with as little ceremony and reverence as she did her courtiers and maids of honour—as indifferent of what she did as what she said. "Had these alienations," observes Bentham, "been the "voluntary acts of those bi- "shops, the censure, it must "be owned, had been justly "laid. But as the law then "stood, the queen had it wholly "in her power to make those "exchanges, and might, I con- "ceive, have taken to herself, "had she so pleased, all the "estates of all the bishoprics "in England, by way of ex- "change, without asking the "consent of the bishops. These "exchanges, it is confessed, "were generally made to the "disadvantage of the bishop- "rics; but the parliament had "given the queen, in the first "year of her reign, an unprece- "dented and enormous power "over them; and in the exer- "cise of that power, she acted "throughout her long reign "with the utmost impartiality; "for there was not a bishopric "in the kingdom (except per- "haps Bristol, Gloucester, "Oxford, and Peterborough, "which had nothing to spare) "from which the queen did "not, at one time or other, "when they happened to be "vacant, take to herself a con- "siderable part, and, generally

11. To prevent future wrong to the church in that kind, it was now enacted, that the crown itself henceforward should be incapable of any such church land to be conveyed unto it. Yet some were so bold as to conceive this law void in the very making of it, and that all the obligation thereof consisted, not in the strength of the law, but only in the king's and his successors' voluntary obedience thereunto [d]; accounting it injurious for any prince in parliament to tie his successors, who neither can nor will be concluded thereby, farther than it stands with their own convenience. However, it was to stand in force till the same power should be pleased to rescind it. But others beheld this law, not with a politic but religious eye, conceiving the King of heaven and the king of England the parties concerned therein, and accounting it sacrilege for any to alienate what is given to God in his church.

A. D. 1604. 2 James. Several censures on this new statute.

12. Thus was the king graciously pleased to bind himself for the liberty of the church. He knew full well all courtiers' (and especially his own countrymen's) importunity in asking, and perhaps was privy to his own impotency in denying; and therefore, by this statute, he eased himself of many troublesome

King James a great church lover.

" speaking, the best and most " valuable part of their posses- " sions; giving them in ex- " change, as she might legally " do, either the tenths of the " clergy or rectories impro- " priate. Well was it for the " succeeding bishops that this " extraordinary power in the " crown was restrained by an " act passed soon after! But " it is hard that all the bishops " of that reign should be " blamed for suffering those " exchanges to be made, when " it was out of their power to " prevent it." History of Cathedral of Ely, p. 196.]

[d] [This act was obtained principally by the influence of Bancroft, at that time president of the convocation. See Heylyn's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 378.]

A. D. 1604. 2 James. suitors; for hereafter no wise man would beg of the king what was not in his power to grant, and what, if granted, could not legally be conveyed to any petitioner. Thus his majesty manifested his good-will and affection to religion; and although this law could not finally preserve church lands, to make them immortal, yet it prolonged their lives for many years together.

The acts of this convocation, why as yet not recovered.

12. Pass we now into the convocation, to see what was done there [e]; but here the history thereof, as I may say, is shot betwixt the joints of the armour, in the interval after Whitgift's death and before Bancroft's removal to Canterbury; so that I can find the original thereof neither in the office of the vicar-general, nor in the registry of London; nor can I recover it, as yet, from the office of the dean and chapter of Canterbury, where most probably it is to be had, the jurisdiction belonging to them in the vacancy.

Many canons made therein, bishop Bancroft sitting president.

13. Take this as the result thereof: a book of canons was compiled, not only being the sum of the queen's Articles, orders of her commissioners, adver-

[e] [This convocation assembled upon the 20th of March, when the king's letter was read to hasten a collection for the town of Geneva, whose desire was accordingly complied with. In the second session, March 23rd, the prolocutor (Dr. Ravis, dean of Christ Church) was presented by Dr. Overall, whose speech on the occasion is still preserved among the MSS. of Dr. More, formerly bishop of Norwich. But the chief business in which it was occupied was the compiling of the book of canons, originally published in 4to, 1604, and reprinted in Wilkins' Concil. IV. 388. In the same work also may be seen the commission of the dean and chapter of Canterbury to the bishop of London, empowering him to preside in the convocation during the vacancy of the see of Canterbury. See Atterbury's Rights, &c. Add. pp. 66, 423, and Wake's State of the Church, pp. 616, 617.]

tisements, canons of 1571 and 1597, which were in use before, but also many more were added, the whole number amounting unto one hundred and forty-one. Some wise and moderate men supposed so many laws were too heavy a burden to be long borne, and that it had been enough for the episcopal party to have triumphed, not insulted over their adversaries in so numerous impositions[f]. However, an explanation was made in one of the canons, of the use of the cross in baptism[g], to prevent scandal; and learned Thuanus, in his History[h], taketh an especial notice thereof. A. D. 1604. 2 James.

14. Motion being made in this convocation, about framing an oath against simony, to be taken by all presented to church preferment, bishop Rudd, of St. David's, (as conscientious as any of his order, and free from that fault,) opposed it, chiefly because he thought it unequal that the patron should not be forced, as well as the clerk, to take that oath; whereupon it was demanded of him whether he would have the king to take that oath when he presented a bishop or dean, and hereat the bishop sat down in silence. Bishop Rudd, why opposing the oath against simony.

15. About this time the corporation of Ripon in Yorkshire presented their petition to queen Anne on this occasion. They had a fair collegiate church, The petition of the town of Ripon to queen Anne.

[f] [The puritans, as usual, gave vent to heavy complaints against these canons, circulating a pamphlet entitled "Certain Advertisements to the Parliament." 4to. 1604. This was answered by Dr. Covell, the celebrated defender of Hooker, in a tract called "A modest and reasonable Examination of some things in use in the Church of England, sundry times heretofore misliked, and now lately in a book called 'The Plea of the Innocents.'"]

[g] [Can. XXX.]

[h] [Lib. cxxxi. 3.]

A. D. 1604. 2 James. stately for the structure thereof, formerly erected by the nobility and gentry of the vicinage; the means whereof, at the dissolution of abbeys, were seized on by the king, so that small maintenance was left to the minister of that populous parish. Now, although Edwin Sands, archbishop of York, with the earl of Huntingdon, lord Burghley and Sheffield, (successively presidents of the north,) had recommended their petition to queen Elizabeth, they obtained nothing but fair unperformed promises; whereupon now the Ripponers humbly addressed themselves to queen Anne; and hear her answer unto them:

"ANNE R.

"Anne, by the grace of God, queen of England, "Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. To all, to "whom these presents shall come, greeting. Where- "as there hath been lately exhibited and recom- "mended unto us a frame and platform of a college "general, to be planted and established at Ripon "in the county of York, for the manifold benefit of "both the borders of England and Scotland. Upon "the due perusing of the plot aforesaid, hereunto "annexed, and upon signification given of the good "liking and approbation of the chief points con- "tained therein by sundry grave, learned, and reli- "gious parties, and some other of honourable place "and estate, we have thought good, for the ample "and perpetual advancement of learning and reli- "gion in both the borders of our aforesaid realms, "to condescend to yield our favour and best fur- "therance thereunto. And for the better encou- "raging of other honourable and worthy personages "to join with us in yielding their bounty and bene-

" volence thereunto, we have and do signify and A. D. 1604.
" assure, and by the word of a sacred princess and 2 James.
" queen do expressly promise to procure, with all
" convenient speed, to and for the yearly better
" maintenance of the said college, all and every of
" the requests, specified and craved to that end, in a
" small schedule hereunto annexed. In confirmation
" whereof we have signed these presents by our
" hand and name above-mentioned, and have caused
" our privy signet to be set unto the same.

" Dated at our honour at Greenwich, July 4th,
" *anno Dom.* 1604, and of our reign, &c."

After the sealing, thus subscribed:

" GULIELMUS TOULERIUS,
" Secretarius de mandato serenissimæ
" Annæ Reginæ Angliæ, Scotiæ,
" Franciæ, Hiberniæ."

16. Such need never fear success who have so potent a person to solicit their suit; king James being forward of himself to advance learning and religion, and knowing Christ's precept, *Let your light shine before men,* knew also that Ripon was an advantageous place for the fixing thereof; as which, by its commodious position in the north, there would reflect lustre almost equally into England and Scotland. Whereupon he founded a dean and chapter of seven prebends, allowing them two hundred forty seven pounds a year out of his own crown land for their maintenance. King James his bountiful grant.

17. I am informed that lately the lands of this church are, by mistake, twice sold to several purchasers: viz. once under the notion of dean and These lands since twice sold.

A.D. 1604. 2 James. chapter's lands; and again, under the property of king's lands. I hope the chapmen, when all is right stated betwixt them, will agree amongst themselves on their bargain. Meantime Ripon Church may the better comport with poverty, because only remitted to its former condition.

The petition of the Family of Love to king James.

18. The Family of Love (or lust rather) at this time presented a tedious petition to king James, (so that it is questionable whether his majesty ever graced it with his perusal,) wherein they endeavoured to clear themselves from some misrepresentations, and by fawning expression to insinuate themselves into his majesty's good opinion; which here we present:

"To the King's most excellent Majesty, James the "First, by the grace of God King of England, "Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the "Faith, &c. [i]

"Most gracious sovereign lord, whereas there is "published in a book, written by your highness as "an instruction to your most noble son [k], (whom

[i] [This Supplication of the Family of Love was printed in the year 1606, by John Legate, printer to the university of Cambridge, in a pamphlet with this title: "A Supplication of "the Family of Love (said to "be presented into the King's "royal Hands, known to be "dispersed among his loyal "Subjects) for Grace and Fa"vour. Examined and found "to be derogatory, in an high "Degree, unto the Glory of "God," &c. 4to. It was also reprinted, with observations, in Rutherford's "Survey of the "Spiritual Antichrist," p. 343, in 1648; from whom probably Fuller took his copy of the petition, which I have collated with the earlier book,—since Rutherford derived his comments principally, and therefore very probably the petition itself, from the first-mentioned pamphlet. I may add that Dr. More took some pains to refute the tenets of this sect. See his Mystery of Godliness, p. 247.]

[k] In his Basilicon Doron, [p. 143.]

" Almighty God bless with much honour, happiness, A.D. 1604.
" and long life,) of a people that are of a vile sect 2 James.
" among the Anabaptists, called the Family of Love,
" who do hold and maintain many proud, uncha-
" ritable, unchristian, and most absurd opinions,
" unto whom your highness doth also give the name
" of puritans, affirming in the said book that divers
" of them (as Brown, Penry, and others) do accord
" with them in their foul, erroneous, heady, and
" fantastical opinions, which are there set down at
" large by your majesty, advising your royal son (as
" is most meet) to punish them if they refuse to
" obey the law, and will not cease to stir up re-
" bellion.

" Now, gracious sovereign, because it is meet that
" your highness should understand by their suppli-
" cation and declaration of the truth herein by
" themselves, of whom your majesty hath been thus
" informed, prostrate at your princely feet, as true,
" faithful, loyal, and obedient subjects to all your
" laws and ordinances, civil and politic, spiritual and
" temporal, they with humble hearts do beseech
" your princely majesty to understand that the
" people of the Family of Love, or of God, do
" utterly disclaim and detest all the said absurd and
" self-conceited opinions, and disobedient and erro-
" neous sects of the anabaptists, Brown, Penry, puri-
" tans, and all other proud-minded sects and heresies
" whatsoever; protesting, upon pain of our lives,
" that we are not of consent nor agreeing with any
" such brain-sick preachers, nor their rebellious and
" disobedient sects whatsoever, but have been and
" ever will be truly obedient to your highness and
" your laws, to the effusion of our blood and ex-

A. D. 1604. 2 James. " penses of our goods and lands in your majesty's
" service; highly lauding Almighty God, who hath
" so graciously and peaceably appointed unto us
" such a virtuous, wise, religious, and noble king,
" and so careful and impartial a justicer to govern
" over us; beseeching him daily to bless your high-
" ness with his godly wisdom and holy understanding,
" to the furtherance of his truth and godliness, and
" with all honour, happiness, peace, and long life,
" and to judge rightly betwixt falsehood and truth.

" And because your majesty shall have a perfect
" view or an assured persuasion of the truth of the
" same our protestation, if therefore there be any
" indifferent man of this kingdom that can justly
" touch us with any such disobedient and wicked
" handling of ourselves, as seemeth by your majesty's
" book it hath been informed unto your highness,
" unless they be such our mortal enemies the dis-
" obedient puritans, and those of their heady humours
" before named, who are much more zealous, reli-
" gious, and precise in the tything of mint, annis,
" and cummin, and in the preferring of such-like
" pharisaical and self-chosen outward traditions and
" grounds, or hypocritical righteousness, than in the
" performing of judgment, mercy, and faith, and
" such-like true and inward righteousness, which
" God doth most chiefly require and regard, (Matt.
" xv. 15, &c.) and whose malices have for twenty-
" five years past and upwards, and ever since with
" very many untrue suggestions and most foul errors
" and odious crimes (the which we could shew, if
" need were) sought our utter overthrow and de-
" struction, but that we have behaved ourselves in
" all orderliness and peaceableness of life where we

" dwell, and with whom we had to deal. Or if we A.D. 1604.
" do vary or swerve from the now established reli- 2 James.
" gion in this land, either in services, ceremonies,
" sermons, or sacraments, or have publicly spoken or
" inveighed, either by word or writing, against our
" late sovereign prince's government in cases spi-
" ritual or temporal, then let us be rejected for
" sectaries, and never receive the benefit of subjects.

" Only, right gracious sovereign, we have read
" certain books brought forth by a German author
" under the characters of H. N. [1], who affirmeth
" therein that he is prepared, chosen, and sent of
" God to minister and set forth the most holy
" service of the love of God and Christ, or of the
" Holy Ghost, unto the children of men upon the
" universal earth. Out of which service or writings
" we be taught all dutiful obedience towards God
" and magistrates, and to live a godly and honest
" life, and to love God above all things, and our
" neighbours as ourselves; agreeing therein with all
" the holy scriptures, as we understand them.
" Against which author and his books we never yet
" heard nor knew any law established in this realm
" by our late gracious sovereign, but that we might
" read them without offence; whose writings we
" suppose, under your highness' correction, your
" majesty hath yet never seen or perused, heard of
" by any indifferent nor true information. For the
" said H. N. in all his doctrine and writings (being,
" as we are credibly informed, as much matter in
" volume, if they were all compiled together, as the
" whole Bible containeth) doth neither take part

[1] Henry Nicholas.

A. D. 1604. 2 James.

"with nor write against any particular party or "company whatsoever[m], as naming them by their "names, nor yet praise or dispraise any of them by "name, but doth only shew in particular in his said "writings (as, saith he, the unpartial service of love "requireth) what is good or evil for every one, and "wherein the man hath right or wrong in any point, "whether it be in the state of his soul towards God, "or in the state of his body towards the magistrates "of the world and towards one another, to the end "that all people (when they hear or read his writ-"ings, and do thereby perceive their sins and "estranging from God and Christ) might endeavour "them to bring forth the due fruits of repentance, "which is reformation and newness of life, accord-"ing as all the holy scriptures do likewise require "the same of every one, and that they might in "that sort become saved through Jesus Christ, the "only Saviour of all the world.

"Notwithstanding, dear sovereign, yet hath the "said author and his doctrine a long time, and still "is, most shamefully and falsely slandered by our "foresaid adversaries, both in this land and in divers "others, as to be replenished with all manner of "damnable errors and filthy liberty of the flesh.

"And we his well-willers and favourers in the

[m] [Upon this passage the author of the first pamphlet observes: "He commendeth "the church of Rome, with "all the orders and officers "thereof; tearming it 'the "communion of all Christians; "the pope, the chief anointed, "the most holy father; the "cardinals most holy and fa-"mous, and next the most "ancientest and holy father "the pope in most holy reli-"gion and understanding;' and "prophecieth of an entire and "perfect restauration of the "papal hierarchy." Evangel. Regni, cap. xxxi. p. 32.]

" upright drift of his doctrine (as aforesaid) have A. D. 1604. 2 James.
" also been by them complained on, and accused
" unto our late gracious sovereign and the magis-
" trates of this land, both long time past and now
" lately again, as to be a people so infected and
" stained with all manner of detestable wickedness
" and errors, that are not worthy to live upon the
" earth; but yet would never present any of his
" books unto his majesty to peruse, nor yet set them
" forth in any indifferent or true manner to the
" view of the world, lest their malicious and slan-
" derous reports and accusations against the same
" and us should thereby have been revealed and
" disproved, to their great shame. Through which
" their most odious and false complaints against us,
" the magistrates did then, and also have now lately,
" cast divers of us into prison, to our great hin-
" derance and discredit; but yet have never proved
" against us, by sufficient and true testimony, any
" one of their many foul accusations, (as the records
" in such cases, and the magistrates that have dealt
" therein can testify,) but are so utterly void of due
" and lawful proof thereof, that they have framed
" divers subtle Articles for us (being plain and un-
" learned men) to answer upon our oath, whereby
" to urge and gather some things from ourselves,
" so to approve their false and unchristian accusa-
" tions to be true, or else will force us to renounce,
" recant, and condemn that which we do not wilfully
" maintain nor justify, (much like as it was practised
" in the primitive church against the Christians;)
" yea, they are not ashamed to lay their own and
" all other men's disobedient and wicked acts (of
" what profession soever they be) upon our backs,

A. D. 1604. 2 James.

" to the end cunningly to purchase favour and
" credit to themselves, and to make us seem mon-
" strous and detestable before the magistrates and
" the common people every where; for that we and
" the doctrine of H. N. might (without any indif-
" ferent trial, and lawful or orderly proceeding, as
" heretofore hath been used in the Christian church
" in such cases, for confuting and condemning of
" heresies) be utterly rooted out of the land; with
" divers other most cruel practices, proceeding out
" of their bitter and envious hearts towards us,
" tending to the same unchristian and merciless
" purpose, the which we will here omit to speak
" of, because we have already been over-tedious unto
" your highness; most humbly craving your most
" gracious pardon and patience therein, in respect
" that we speak to clear ourselves of such matter as
" may touch our lives and liberties, (which are two
" of the chiefest jewels that God hath given to
" mankind in this world,) and also for that we have
" few friends, or any other means than this to
" acquaint your highness with the truth and state
" of our cause, (whereof we think your majesty is
" altogether ignorant,) but have very many enemies,
" whom we do greatly suspect will not be slack to
" prosecute their false and malicious purpose against
" us unto your highness, even like as they have
" accustomed to do in times past unto our late
" sovereign queen; through which prevailing in their
" slanderous defacing of us and our cause, divers of
" us (for want of friends to make it rightly known
" unto her majesty) have sundry times been con-
" strained to endure their injurious dealings toward
" us, to our great vexation and hinderance.

" Wherefore, most gracious sovereign, this is now A. D. 1604. 2 James.
" our humble suit unto your highness, that when
" your kingly affairs of importance, which your
" majesty hath now in hand, shall be well overpast
" and finished, (for the prosperous performance
" whereof we will, as duty bindeth us, daily pray
" unto Almighty God,) that then your highness will
" be pleased (because we have always taken the
" same author's work aforesaid to proceed out of
" the great grace and love of God and Christ
" extended towards all kings, princes, rulers, and
" people upon the universal earth—as he himself,
" in many of his works, doth witness no less—to
" their salvation, unity, peace, and concord in the
" same godly love) to grant us that favour, at your
" majesty's fit and convenient time, to peruse the
" books yourself with an impartial eye, conferring
" them with the holy scriptures, wherein it seemeth
" by the books that are set forth under your high-
" ness' name that you have had great travel, and
" are therefore the better able to judge betwixt
" truth and falsehood. And we will, whensoever
" it shall please your highness to appoint the time
" and to command and licence us thereto, do our
" best endeavour to procure so many of the books
" as we can out of Germany, where they be printed,
" to be delivered unto your majesty, or such godly,
" learned, and indifferent men as it shall please your
" majesty to appoint.

" And we will also, under your highness' lawful
" licence and commandment in that behalf, do our
" like endeavour to procure some of the learned
" men of that country (if there be any yet remaining
" alive that were well acquainted with the author

A. D. 1604. 2 James.

" and his works in his lifetime, and which likewise " have exercised his works ever since) to come over " and attend upon your majesty, at your appointed " time convenient, who can much more sufficiently " instruct and resolve your highness in any unusual " words, phrase, or matter, that may haply seem " dark and doubtful unto your majesty, than any of " us in this your land are able to do.

" And so, upon such your highness' godly advised " consultation, and censure thereupon, (finding the " same works heretical or seditious, and not agree- " able to God's holy word and testimonies of all " the scriptures,) to leave them, to take them as " your majesty's laws shall therein appoint us; hav- " ing no intent nor meaning to contend or resist " thereagainst, howsoever it be, but dutifully to obey " thereunto, according to the counsel of the scrip- " tures, and also of the said author's works.

" And our further humble suit unto your high- " ness is, that of your gracious favour and clemency " you will grant and give order unto your majesty's " officers in that behalf, that all of us, your faithful " loving subjects, which are now in prison in any " part of this your realm for the same cause, may " be released upon such bail or bond as we are able " to give; and that neither we nor any of that com- " pany, behaving ourselves orderly and obediently " under your highness' laws, may be any further " persecuted or troubled therein, until such time " as your majesty and such godly, learned, and " indifferent men of your clergy as your highness " shall appoint thereto, shall have advisedly con- " sulted and determined of the matter, whereby that " we may not be utterly wasted by the great charge

" of imprisonment and persecution, and by the hard A.D. 1604. 3 James.
" dealing of our adversaries; for we are a people
" but few in number, and yet most of us very poor
" in worldly wealth [n].

" O sacred prince! we humbly pray that the
" Almighty will move your princely heart with true
" judgment to discern betwixt the right and wrong
" of our cause, according to that most certain and
" Christian rule set down by our Saviour Christ unto
" his disciples, (Matt. vii. 12,) Ye shall know the
" tree by his fruits; and in our obedience, peace-
" able and honest lives and conversation to protect
" us, and in our disobedience and misdemeanour to
" punish us as resisters of God's ordinance, of the
" kingly authority, and most high office of justice
" committed unto your majesty to that purpose to-
" wards your subjects. (Rom. xiii.)

" And, gracious sovereign, we humbly beseech

[n] [Upon this passage the author of the same pamphlet observes, "It is well known "how, twenty-five years ago, "the number of them was great, "and they dispersed in divers "parts: as Surrey, Sussex, "Middlesex, Berkshire, Hamp- "shire, Essex, Isle of Ely, "Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Nor- "folk; in the north parts; and "finally in most shires of this "realm. In those days they "did abound, and were grown "to such a number, as the dis- "player of the sect delivered, "'how his heart did sue to "speak that which one of the "same society did avouch to "him for truth,' (*Display*, "Pref.) 'not a few ministers "of the simple sort were with "H. N. his fancies entangled, "nor the chiefest place of the "realm free from these men.' "Ibid. E. 4, n. Since, that they "are diminished I hear not, "but them to be hugely in- "creased, through rueful con- "nivance I have arguments to "think; but that their increase "may be hindered, I hope au- "thority will take order.

"They say they are also "poor, or the most of them; "but if the book of their "names, called of them 'The "Book of Life,' could be seen, "it would then appear, I doubt "not, that both the number of "them is great, and most of "them very rich." p. 57.]

A. D. 1604. 3 James. "your highness with princely regard in equity and "favour to ponder, and grant the humble suit con- "tained in this most lowly supplication of your "loyal, true-hearted, faithful, and afflicted subjects; "and to remember that your majesty, in your book "of princely, grave, and fatherly advice to the happy "prince, your royal son, doth conclude that *principis* "*est parcere subjectis et debellare superbos;* and then, "no doubt, God will bless your highness and all "your noble offspring with peace, long life, and all "honours and happiness, long to continue and reign "over us: for the which we will ever pray with "incessant prayers to the Almighty."

I find not what effect this their petition produced; whether it was slighted, and the petitioners looked upon as inconsiderable, or beheld as a few frantic folk out of their wits, which consideration alone often melted their adversaries' anger into pity unto them.

The Familists will in nowise be accounted puritans.

19. The main design driven on in the petition is to separate themselves from the puritans, (as persons odious to king James,) that they might not fare the worse for their vicinity unto them; though these Familists could not be so desirous to leave them as the others were glad to be left by them; for if their opinions were so senseless, and the lives of these Familists so sensual, as is reported, no purity at all belonged unto them.

Phrases in their petition censured.

20. Some take exceptions at their prayer for king James, wishing him and his "peace, long life, "all honour and happiness," without mentioning of life eternal and the blessings thereof; whilst others are so much of the family of charity to this Family

of Love, as to excuse the omission as casual, or else extend happiness as comprehensive of the world to come [o]; others are more justly offended to see gold and dung joined together — God's word and the words of H. Nicholas equally yoked by them as infallible alike. They confess in this book "some "unusual words which are dark and doubtful," which at this day is affected by many sectarists, whilst truth is plain and easy; amusing people with mystical expressions, which their auditors understand not, and perchance not they themselves: so that, as one saith very well of their high-soaring pretended spiritual language, "That it is a great deal too high for this "world, and a great deal too low for the world to "come." A. D. 1604. 3 James.

21. I find one, in his confutation of this petition, inveighing against our bishops, that they were friends unto Familism, and favoured the promoters thereof; adding, moreover, "that few of the prelatical way "refuted them [p]." Now, though the best friends of bishops, yea, and the bishops themselves, will confess they had too many faults, yet I am confident this is a false and uncharitable aspersion upon them. No better is that when he saith, "that divers of "the court of queen Elizabeth, and some nobles, "were Familists;" wherein I am sure plenty of instances hath put him to such a penury, that he cannot insist upon any one. But I am inclined the rather to pardon his error herein, because the author reporting this is a foreigner then living in Scotland; and should I treat of the character of the court of Mr. Rutherford causelessly asperseth the bishops and courtiers of queen Elizabeth.

[o] Samuel Rutherford, in his Survey, p. 353.

[p] In his Notes on his Petition of Survey, p. 349.

A.D. 1604. 3 James. king James at Edinburgh at the same time, possibly my pen at so great a distance might commit far worse mistakes.

Familists turned into modern Ranters.

22. Some will say, where are these Familists nowadays? are they utterly extinct, or are they lost in the heap of other sects, or are they concealed under a new name? The last is most probable. This Family, which shut their doors before, keeps open house now; yea, Family is too narrow a name for them, they are grown so numerous. Formerly, by their own confession in this petition, they had three qualities—"few, poor, and unlearned." For the last *bilia vera*, their lack of learning they still retain, being otherwise many, and some rich, but all under the name of Ranters. And thus I fairly leave them, on condition they will fairly leave me, that I may hear no more of them for delivering truth and my own conscience in what I have written concerning their opinions.

The death of Hall and Ely.

23. I find no protestant tears dropped on the grave of any eminent divine this year, but we light on two Romanists dying beyond sea, much lamented: one, Richard Hall [q], bred in Christ's College in Cambridge, whence he ran over to Rome, whence he returned into the Low Countries, and died canon and official of the cathedral of St. Omer; the other, Humphrey Ely [r], an Herefordshire man by birth, fellow of St. John's in Oxford, whence, going beyond sea, at Rome he commenced doctor of law, and afterwards died professor thereof in the university of Pont a Mouson [s]. He is charactered to be *juris-*

[q] [Pitzeus in Vita, p. 802.]
[r] [Ib. p. 803.]
[s] In the duchy of Lorraine.

peritus, doctus, pauper, et pacificus—a lawyer learned, poor, and peaceable. And thus much my charity can easily believe of him; but the distich (the epitaph, I take it, on his tomb) is damnably hyperbolical: A. D. 1605. 4 James.

"*Albion hæreseos velatur nocte, viator*
Desine mirari, sol suus hic latitat."

"Wonder not, England's dark with error's night,
For lo! here buried lies her sun so bright."

Or else the poet lies who made the verses. But his ashes shall not be disturbed by me.

24. The Romish catholics, now utterly despairing, either by flattery to woo or force to wrest any free and public exercise of their religion, some of them entered into a damnable and devilish conspiracy to blow up the parliament-house with gunpowder[t]. In this plot were engaged, The plotters in the Powder Treason.

i. Robert Catesby. ii. Thomas Percy. iii. Sir Everard Digby. iv. Francis Tresham. v. Robert Winter. vi. Thomas Winter. vii. John Wright. viii. Christopher Wright. ix. Ambrose Rookwood.

[t] [Posterity has since acquitted the Roman catholics, as a body, from the guilt of participating in this conspiracy; nor does history warrant us in supposing that it was ever known, much less favoured, by any others than the desperate men who were actually engaged in it. The chief contrivers of it, who seem also to have inveigled the rest, were Percy and Catesby; the former of whom, being kinsman to the earl of Northumberland, and a man of loose habits, first hired the house near the parliament, into which they conveyed the barrels of powder, and was assisted in it by the latter, whom Goodman describes as "a very cunning, "subtle man, exceedingly en-"tangled in debts, and scarce "able to subsist." For the rest of the conspirators mentioned in the text, (with the exception, perhaps, of Rookwood, who was somewhat in debt,) there seems but little reason to suppose that they were otherwise than drawn into it by abler heads than their own.]

A. D. 1605. 4 James. x. Robert Keys. xi. John Grant. xii. Thomas Bates, Catesby's man. xiii. Guido Faux [u].

Twelve, besides their foreman; but how *honest and true*, let their ensuing action declare. Surely all of resolute spirits, most of ancient families, some of plentiful fortunes; and Percy, though weak in purse himself, pretended to command the wealthiest coffers of another.

Garnet his deciding a case of conscience.

25. But a treason without a Jesuit, or one of jesuited principles therein, is like a dry wall without either lime or mortar. Gerard must be the cement, with the sacrament of secrecy, to join them together. Garnet and Tesmond, whelps of the same litter, commended and encouraged the design. But here an important scruple was injected — how to

[u] [According to the Roman catholic historians, Catesby conceived this monstrous design in February, 1605. Keys was not associated in it until August, and Bates in December following. The first two persons to whom it was communicated were John Wright and Thomas Winter. Winter passed over into Flanders, to solicit the mediation of the king of Spain; but, failing in his attempt, returned into England, in company with Guy Fawkes, with whom he had fallen in at Ostend about the middle of April. Towards the end of the month, Percy, having arrived in town, was introduced to the rest of the conspirators at Catesby's house in Lambeth. Then all five, a few days later, met at a house in the fields behind St. Clement's Inn, where they agreed upon the plot; having first sworn by the blessed Trinity, and by an "oath which "they purposed to receive, not "to reveal what should be dis-"closed to them, nor abandon "the design without the full "and unanimous consent of "their associates."

Up to this period there is no proof that either Gerard or Garnet was acquainted with their intentions explicitly: it seems, therefore, much more probable (as it is positively stated in Gerard's MS., as quoted by Mr. Tierney) that Catesby obtained Garnet's opinion on this "case of con-"science," not by communicating his design, but by stating an analogous case. See the notes in Dodd's Church Hist. IV. 45.]

part their friends from their foes in the parliament, they having many in the house of alliance, yea, of the same (in conscience a nearer kindred) religion with themselves. *To slay the righteous with the wicked*[x], be it far from God and all good men; and yet, as such an unpartial destruction was uncharitable, so an exact separation seemed as impossible. Here Garnet, instead of untying, cut this knot asunder, with this his sharp decision: that in such a case as this, it was lawful to kill friend and foe together. Indeed, the good husbandman in the gospel[y] permitted the tares to grow for the corn's sake; whereas here, by the contrary counsel of the Jesuit, the corn (so they reputed it) was to be rooted up for the tares' sake. A.D. 1605. 4 James.

26. This scruple in conscience thus satisfied by Garnet, two other difficulties, in point of performance, presented themselves; for Charles, duke of York, probably (by reason of his minority) would not be present, and the lady Elizabeth would certainly be absent from the parliament-house. How then should these two, the next heirs to the crown, be compassed within their power? But for the first, Percy proffered his service, promising to possess himself, by a fraudulent force, of the person of the duke. Catesby undertook the other difficulty, under a pretended hunting-match (advantaged thereunto by the vicinity of Ashby to the lord Harrington's, where the princess had her education) to train her into their command. All rubs thus removed, their way was made as smooth as glass, and as slippery too, as by the sequel may appear. Two other difficulties removed.

[x] Gen. xviii. 25. [y] Matt. xiii. 29.

A. D. 1605. 4 James.

The odium must be cast on the puritans.

27. But first be it remembered, that though these plotters intended at last with honour to own the action, when success had made all things secure, yet they purposed, when the blow was first given, and whilst the act was certain, but the success thereof doubtful, to father the fact on the puritans. They thought their backs were broad enough to bear both the sin and shame, and that this saddle, for the present, would finely fit their backs; whose discontent, (as these plotters would pretend,) unable otherwise to achieve their desired alteration in church government, had by this damnable treason effected the same. By transferring the fact on the then most innocent puritans, they hoped not only to decline the odium of so hellish a design, but also, by the strangeness of the act and unsuspectedness of the actors, to amuse all men, and beget an universal distrust, that every man would grow jealous of himself. And whilst such amazement tied, in a manner, all men's hands behind them, these plotters promised themselves the working out their own ends, part by their home strength, and the rest by calling in the assistance of foreign princes.

Will-worship a painful labour.

28. They fall a working in the vault: dark the place, in the depth of the earth; dark the time, in the dead of the night; dark the design, all the actors therein concealed by oath from others, and thereby combined amongst themselves. Oh, how easy is any work when high merit is conceived the wages thereof! In piercing through the wall, nine foot thick, they erroneously conceived that they thereby hewed forth their own way to heaven [z].

[z] Speed's Chron. in King James, [x. 1, 49. They hired

But they digged more with their silver in an hour than with their iron in many days; namely, when discovering a cellar hard by, they hired the same, and these pioneers saved much of their pains by the advantage thereof. And now all things were carried so secretly, no possibility of any detection, seeing the actors themselves had solemnly sworn that they would not, and all others might as safely swear they could not, make any discovery thereof. A. D. 1605. 4 James.

29. But so it fell out that the sitting of the parliament was put off from time to time; namely, God gives them warning to de-

the house of a person named Ferris, who was tenant to Wyniard, the keeper of the royal wardrobe. The original deed of agreement between Percy and Ferris, dated May 24, 1604, is still preserved in the State Paper Office. (Tierney, in Dodd, IV. 44.) By the time they could get possession of the house, it was too late to commence their project of forming a mine, as parliament was prorogued in July. They separated, therefore, with a resolution to reassemble in November, when the houses would again be sitting. When that period had arrived, the commissioners appointed for proposing the union between England and Scotland had fixed upon the house which Percy had taken for holding their meetings in. By these circumstances their operations were delayed till December. When the mine was opened, the rubbish removed during the day was concealed at night under the soil of the garden. But other accidents, besides the thickness of the foundation wall, (among others, the influx of water into the mine,) impeded their progress: when Easter, therefore, had arrived, they had not yet perforated the wall nor completed the task. At this juncture an accidental noise over their heads first apprised them of the existence of the cellar, situated immediately under the house of lords. The tenant of it, named Bright, was already removing; and Fawkes hastened, in the name of his master Percy, to hire the cellar. Having accomplished his purpose, they abandoned their operations in the mine; but so hasty, or, as Goodman thinks, (I. 104,) so negligent were they in their proceedings, "as they did not "throw in that earth which "they digged out of the mine, "but left it open, that it might "be seen——and I myself," continues the bishop, "did see "it." See also Dodd, note, p. 44.]

A. D. 1605. 4 James. from the seventh of February, whereon it was first appointed to meet, it was adjourned till the fifth of October, and afterward from the fifth of October put off till the fifth of November; and accordingly their working in the vault, which attended the motion of the parliament, had several distinct intermissions and resumptions thereof: as if Divine Providence had given warning to these traitors, by the slow proceeding and oft adjourning of the parliament, meantime seriously to consider what they went about, and seasonably to desist from so damnable a design, as suspicious at last it would be ruined, which so long had been retarded. But no *taking off their wheels* [a] will stay those chariots from drowning which God hath decreed shall be swallowed in the Red Sea.

sist, but they will take none.

The latitude of their design.

30. *Behold, here is fire and wood, but where is the lamb for the burnt offering?* Alas! a whole flock of lambs were not far off, all appointed to the slaughter: the king, prince Henry, peers, bishops, judges, knights, and burgesses — all designed to destruction. *Let me smite him* (said Abishai of Saul) *even at once, and I will not smite him the second time* [b]. So here, a blow so sound, secret, and sudden was intended, it would not need iteration: once and ever—the first act would finish all in an instant. But, thanks be to God, nothing was blown up but the treason, or brought to execution but the traitors.

The apish behaviour of Keyes.

31. Indeed, some few days before the fatal stroke should be given, master Keyes, being at Titchmarsh in Northamptonshire, at the house of master Gilbert

[a] Exod. xiv. 25. [b] 1 Sam. xxvi. 8.

Pickering, his brother-in-law, (but of a different religion, as a true protestant,) suddenly whipped out his sword, and in merriment made many offers therewith at the heads, neck, and sides of many gentlemen and gentlewomen then in his company. This then was taken as a mere frolic, and for the present passed accordingly; but afterwards, when the treason was discovered, such as remembered his gestures thought thereby he did act what he intended to do if the plot had took effect—hack and hew, kill and slay all eminent persons of a different religion from themselves. A. D. 1605. 4 James.

32. *Curse not the king, no not in thy thought—— for a bird of the air shall carry the voice* [c]; as here such a discovery was made. With a pen, fetched from the feather of a fowl, a letter was written to the lord Mounteagle [d], in manner following: The mystical letter.

" My Lord,

" Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, " I have a care of your preservation; therefore I " would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise " some excuse to shift off your attendance at this " parliament: for God and man have concurred to " punish the wickedness of this time. And think " not slightly of this advertisement, but retire your- " self into your country, where you may expect the " event in safety; for though there be no appear- " ance of any stir, yet I say they shall receive a " terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall " not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to

[c] Eccles. x. 20.

[d] [Then living at Bethnal Green, near Aldgate. Goodman's Mem. I. 104.]

A. D. 1605. 4 James. "be contemned, because it may do you good, and "can do you no harm; for the danger is past so "soon as you have burnt the letter. And I hope "God will give you the grace to make good use of "it: to whose holy protection I commend you [e]."

A strange letter, from a strange hand, by a strange messenger; without date to it, name at it, and, I had almost said, sense in it;—a letter which, even when it was opened, was still sealed, such the affected obscurity therein.

The first search proves ineffectual.

33. The lord Mounteagle, as loyalty advised him, communicates the letter to the earl of Salisbury, he to the king: his majesty, on the second perusal, expounded the mystical *blow* meant therein must be by gunpowder, and gives order for searching the rooms under the parliament house, under pretence to look for lost hangings which were conveyed away. The first search, about evening, discovered nothing but Percy's cellar, full of wood, and Johnson, his man, (under that name was Faux disguised,) attending therein. However, the name of Percy and sight of Faux so quickened the jealousy of the lord

[e] [The authorship of this letter has been attributed to several persons. See Jardine, p. 62. That writer, however, is mistaken in supposing that the conjecture which ascribed it to Mrs. Habington, sister of the lord Mounteagle, was not expressed till nearly a century after the event occurred; for Wood expressly attributes it to her, upon the authority of sir William Dugdale. Ath. II. 110. She was the wife of the celebrated Thomas Habington, who was condemned to die for harbouring Garnet and Oldcorne at his house in Hendlip, but was saved by the influence of lord Mounteagle. Bishop Goodman, however, who had excellent means of discovering the truth, positively asserts that the letter was written by Tresham, "a man of a good estate, and "a strict catholic;" but otherwise weak in his intellects, and led by others of greater cunning. Memoirs, I. 104.]

Mounteagle, that this first slight search led to a second scrutiny, more strictly and secretly performed. A.D. 1605. 4 James.

34. This was made at midnight, by sir Thomas Knyvett, gentleman of his majesty's privy chamber, and others, into the vault under the parliament house. There the mystery of iniquity was quickly discovered: a pile of fuel, faced over with billets, lined under with thirty-six barrels of powder, besides iron bars, to make the force of the fire more effectual. Guido Faux was apprehended in the outward room, with a dark lantern in his hand, (the lively emblem of their design, whose dark side was turned to man, whiles the light part was exposed to God,) and three matches, ready to give fire to the train. This caitiff professed himself only grieved that he was not in the inner room, to blow himself and them all up together; affirming, moreover, that "not "God, but the devil, made the discovery of the "plot." The second search discovers all.

35. Meantime Catesby, Percy, Rookwood, both the Wrights, and Thomas Winter, were hovering about London to attend the issue of the matter. Having sat so long abrood, and hatching nothing, they began to suspect all their eggs had proved addle; yet, betwixt hope and fear, they and their servants post down into the country, through Warwick and Worcester into Staffordshire. Of traitors they turn felons, breaking up stables and stealing horses as they went; but many of their own men, by a far more lawful felony, stole away from their masters, leaving them to shift for themselves. The neighbouring counties and their own consciences rise up against these riotous roisters, as yet unknown The traitors fly, and are taken.

A. D. 1605. 4 James. for traitors. At last sir Richard Walsh, high sheriff of Worcestershire, overtook them at Holbeck in Staffordshire, at the house of Mr. Stephen Littleton, where, upon their resistance, the two Wrights were killed, Rookwood and Thomas Winter shrewdly wounded.

Catesby and Percy fight desperately for their lives.

36. As for Percy and Catesby, they fought desperately for their lives, as knowing no quarter, but quartering, would be given unto them; and, as if they scorned to turn their backs to any but themselves, setting back to back, they fought against all that assaulted them. Many swords were drawn upon them; but gunpowder must do the deed, which discharged that bullet which dispatched them both [f]. Never were two bad men's deaths more generally lamented of all good men, only on this account, that they lived no longer to be forced to a farther discovery of their secret associates.

The Lord is just.

37. It must not be forgotten how, some hours before their apprehension, as these plotters were drying dank gunpowder in an inn, a miller casually coming in, (haply not heeding the *black meal* on the hearth,) by careless casting on of a billet, fired the gunpowder: up flies the chimney, with part of the house; all therein are frighted, most hurt, but especially Catesby and Rookwood had their faces soundly scorched; so bearing in their bodies, not

[f] [They were shot through the body, as they stood back to back, by two bullets from one musket, and died worthy of a better cause. See a very interesting account of their death, quoted from father Greenway's MS. in Jardine, p. 86. Goodman does not scruple to say that sir Robert Cecil gave special charge and direction *not* to take them alive; "who," continues the bishop, "it may be, would have "revealed some evil counsel "given." Memoirs, I. 107.]

στίγματα, *the marks of our Lord Jesus Christ* [g], but the print of their own impieties [h]. Well might they guess how good that their cup of cruelty was, whose dregs they meant others should drink, by this little sip which they themselves had unwillingly tasted thereof. A. D. 1605. 4 James.

38. The rest were all at London solemnly arraigned, convicted, condemned. So foul the fact, so fair the proof, they could say nothing for themselves. Master Tresham dying in the prison [i], prevented a more ignominious end [k]. The rest are legally executed.

i. Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at the west end of St. Paul's. Three of them, but especially sir Everard Digby, died very penitently and devoutly; only Grant expressed most obstinacy at his end.

ii. Thomas Winter, Ambrose Rookwood, Keyes, and Faux, were executed as the former in the Parliament-yard in Westminster. Keyes followed Grant in his obstinacy, and Faux shewed more penitency than all the rest [l].

iii. Garnet, provincial of the English Jesuits, was arraigned some weeks after by four several names [m], and executed on the Saturday, which, he said, was called *institutio crucis*; — of whom largely in the next year.

They all craved testimony that they died Roman

g Gal. vi. 17.

h [See sir Edward Coke's speech at the trial, in Jardine, p. 135, who gives a slightly different version of this anecdote.]

i [Of poison, according to bishop Goodman. Ib.]

k [Winwood's Papers, II. p. 189.]

l Stow's Chron. p. 881.

m Stow, p. 882.

A. D. 1605. 4 James. catholics. My pen shall grant them this their last and so equal petition, and bears witness, to all whom it may concern, that they lived and died in the Romish religion; and although the heinousness of their offence might, with some colour of justice, have angered severity into cruelty against them, yet so favourably were they proceeded with, that most of their sons or heirs (except since disinherited by their own prodigality) at this day enjoy their paternal possessions.

The presumption of a posthume report justly censured.

39. Heaven having thus defeated hell of its desired success, earth since hath endeavoured to defraud heaven of its deserved praise. A posthume report is brought forth into the world (nursed, as it is fit, by the mothers thereof) that king James was privy to this plot all along, and that his observing ran parallel with the traitors acting therein; so that he could discover it when he pleased, but was not pleased to discover it until the eve of the fifth of November;—a fancy inconsistent with that ordinary piety which all charitable men must allow king James as a Christian, and with that extraordinary policy which his adversaries admire in him as a statesman [n]. Was it probable that he would tempt

[n] [This, however, is Goodman's assertion, no enemy to king James, but rather very lenient in his judgment of the king's actions: "This letter," he says, "my lord Mounteagle "did instantly impart to the "secretary; the secretary did "instantly acquaint the king "and some of the council "therewith; the king must "have the honour to interpret "it, that it was by gunpowder; "and the very night before "the parliament began it was "to be discovered, to make "the matter the more odious, "and the deliverance more "miraculous. No less than "the lord chamberlain must "search for it and discover it, "and Faux with his dark lantern must be apprehended."

God so profanely, as solemnly to thank him for revealing that to him which he knew before? Would king James his wisdom (not to say his wariness, not to say his fearfulness) dally so long with destruction as to put it off to the last hour, when (*uno actu, tactu: ictu, nictu*) all might have been confounded? Was it not hard for him to equivocate before such a master of equivocation as Garnet the Jesuit was? who certainly, if he had smelt any juggling of king James therein, would no doubt have proclaimed it to all the world at his execution. I deny not but that the king, both by intelligence from foreign parts and secret information from those secular priests that bishop Bancroft secretly kept in his house, was advertised in general of some great plot which the Jesuited papists were hatching against the ensuing parliament; but for the particulars, that riddling letter brought him the first notice thereof, whatsoever is fancied to the contrary. But if wild conjectures in such cases, from obscure authors, shall be permitted to jostle for credit against received records, all former unquestionable history will be quickly reduced to an universal uncertainty. But there is a generation of people who, to enhance the reputation of their knowledge, seem not only, like moths, to have lurked under the carpets of the council-table, but, even like fleas, to have leaped

A. D. 1605. 3 James.

Mem. I. 45. It is clear, from these and other passages, that Goodman believed that Cecil had practised upon the known timidity of the king, with a view to gain court favour. But whatever may have been the true history of this mysterious affair, it is very certain that Cecil had known it some days before the meeting of parliament; for such is his own positive assertion in his letter to sir Charles Cornwallis. Winwood, II. 171.]

A. D. 1605. 3 James. into the pillows of princes' bedchambers — thence deriving their private knowledge of all things which were, or were not, ever done or thought of; in defiance of whom I add, *Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.* Let king James, by reading the letter, have the credit of discovering this plot to the world, and God the glory for discovering it unto king James.

The memory of this treason perpetuated by act of parliament.

40. A learned author[o], making mention of this treason, breaketh forth into the following rapture:

> "*Excidat illa dies ævo, ne postera credant*
> *Secula; nos certe taceamus, et obruta multa*
> *Nocte tegi propriæ patiamur crimina gentis.*"
>
> "O let that day be quite dash'd out of time,
> And not believ'd by the next generation!
> In night of silence we'll conceal the crime,
> Thereby to save the credit of our nation."

A wish which, in my opinion, hath more of poetry than of piety therein, and from which I must be forced to dissent; for I conceive not the credit of our countrymen concerned in this plot—not beholding this as a national act, whose actors were but a party of a party, a desperate handful of discontented persons of the papistical faction. May the day indeed be ever forgotten, as to the point of imitation, but be ever remembered to the detestation thereof. May it be solemnly transmitted to all posterity, that they may know how bad man can be to destroy, and how good God hath been to deliver; that especially we Englishmen may take notice how woful we might have been, how happy we are, and how thankful we

[o] Camd. Brit. in Middlesex. p. 310.

ought to be: in order whereunto the parliament (first moved therein by sir Edward Mountague [p], afterward baron of Boughton) enacted an annual and constant memorial of that day to be observed. A. D. 1605. 3 James.

41. Certainly, if this plot had took effect, the papists would have celebrated this day with all solemnity, and it should have taken the upper hand of all other festivals; the more therefore the shame and pity, that amongst protestants the keeping of this day (not as yet full fifty years old) begins already to wax weak and decay; so that the red letters, wherein it is written, seem daily to grow dimmer and paler in our English calendar. God forbid that our thankfulness for this great deliverance, formerly so solemnly observed, should hereafter be like the squibs which the apprentices in London make on this day, and which give a great flash, and crack at the first, but soon after go out in a stink! Just complaint that the day is no better observed.

42. Matthew Hutton, archbishop of York, ended his religious life; descended from an ancient family of Hutton Hall (as I take it) in Lancashire, fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, (to the enlarging whereof he gave an hundred marks,) afterwards master of Pembroke Hall, and Margaret professor, then bishop of Durham and archbishop of York. One of the last times that ever he preached in his cathedral was on this occasion: the catholics in Yorkshire were commanded by the queen's authority to be present at three sermons, and at the two first behaved themselves so obstreperously, that some of them were forced to be gagged before they would be quiet; the archbishop preached the last sermon The death of archbishop Hutton.

[p] [23rd Jan. 1606. See Journals of the Com. I. p. 258.]

A. D. 1605. 3 James. most gravely and solidly, taking for his text John viii. 47, *He that is of God heareth God's words; ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God.*

A foul mistake rectified. 43. Here I must clear the memory of this worthy prelate from a mistake committed (surely not wilfully, but through false intelligence) by a pen otherwise more ingenuous, and professing respect to him, and some familiarity with him.

Sir John Harrington, in his *Additional* to bishop Godwin, page 192 = 253:

"[This archbishop] his eldest son is a knight of "fair living, and now or lately sheriff of Yorkshire, "and of good reputation. One other son he had, "that an ill life brought to a worse end: his name "was Luke Hutton, so valiant that he feared not "men nor laws; and for a robbery done on St. "Luke's day, (for name's sake,) he died as bad a "death (I hope with a better mind) than the thief "of whom St. Luke writes. The archbishop shewed "herein that constancy and severity worthy of his "place; for he would not endeavour to save him, as "the world thought, he easily might."

The Truth.

This worthy prelate had but three sons: i. Mark, who died young; ii. Sir Timothy Hutton, knighted anno 1605, and sheriff of Yorkshire; iii. Sir Thomas Hutton, knight, who lived and died also respected in his own country. As for this Luke Hutton, he was not his, but son to doctor Hutton, prebendary of Durham.

This archbishop was a learned man, excepted even by a Jesuit, (who wrote in disgrace of the English, as neglecting the reading of fathers,) and another

Matthew more, *qui unus in paucis versare patres dicitur* [q]. He founded an hospital in the north, and endowed it with the yearly revenue of thirty-five pounds. A. D. 1605. 3 James.

44. Two other bishops this year also ended their lives: in March, John Young, doctor in divinity, once master of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, bishop of Rochester, in which see he sat above twenty-seven years [r]; and Anthony Watson, fellow of Christ's College in Cambridge, first dean of Bristol, and afterwards bishop of Chichester, whom queen Elizabeth made her almoner, namely, after bishop Fletcher, at whose indiscreet second marriage the queen took distaste. Bishop Watson died in September, and always led a single life. The death of the bishops of Rochester and Chichester.

45. Father Henry Garnet was now most solemnly and ceremoniously brought to the scaffold; who, because he is cried up by the papists for so precious a piece of piety, we will be the larger in the delivery of his true character; for, although we will not cast dirt on the foulest face, it is fit we should wash off the paint of counterfeit holiness from the hypocritical pretenders thereunto. Bred he was in Winchester School, where, with some other scholars, he conspired to cut off his schoolmaster's (Bilson's) right hand [s], (early his enmity against authority retrenching his riot,) but that his design was discovered. Being prepositor of the school, whose frown or favour was considerable to those under his Garnet's education and early viciousness

[q] [Campian, in his X. Rationes, p. 71.]

[r] See bishop Godwin in his Catalogue, [p. 539. He died in April.]

[s] Attested by bishop Bilson, of Winchester, alive at Garnet's death, and many years after. See Robert Abbot in his Antilogia, Epistle to the Reader.

A. D. 1606. 4 James. inspection, he sodomitically abused five or six of the handsomest youths therein [t]. Hereupon his schoolmaster advised him, yea, he advised himself, rather silently to slink away, than to stand candidate for a repulse in his preferment to New College. Over he fled to Rome, where, after some years, he so improved himself, that from a prepositor over boys he was made provincial over men, even the whole order of English Jesuits [u].

Canvassed in the Tower by the protestant divines.

46. Hence he returned into England [x], and was not only privy to, but a principal plotter of the Gunpowder Treason. Being attached and imprisoned in the Tower, the earl of Salisbury and Dr. Overall, dean of St. Paul's, with other divines, repaired unto him, charging it on his conscience for not revealing so dangerous a conspiracy. Garnet pleaded for himself that it was concredited unto him under the solemn seal of confession, the violation whereof he accounted the highest impiety. This they disproved, because he had discoursed thereof frequently and publicly with Catesby, Gerard, and Greenwood — circumstances inconsistent with the essential secrecy of confession. Garnet sought to salve himself with a fine distinction, (so fine that it brake to pieces in the spinning,) that it was told him *in via ad confessionem*—in order to confession; which, though wanting some formalities thereof, did equally oblige his conscience to conceal it.

Confession only of *ante* facts.

47. Dean Overall rejoined, that confession was of *ante* facts, not *post* facts; and that it is not con-

[t] [Abbot, ib.]

[u] ["Antilogia adversus Apologiam Andreæ Eudæmon-Johannis Jesuitæ pro Henrico Garneto Jesuita prodi-tore." Lond. 4to. 1613.]

[x] [In 1586. See Winwood, ib.]

fession, but menacing, to impart to a priest intended villanies. He farther urged that their most conscientious casuists allowed, yea, even enjoined, priests discovery in such case, when a greater good accrued by revealing than concealing such secrecies. "I "was minded," quoth Garnet, "to discover the plot, "but not the persons therein." A. D. 1606. 4 James.

48. Here the earl of Salisbury interposed: "And "who," said he, "hindered you from discovering the "plot?" "Even you yourself," answered Garnet; "for I knew full well, should I have revealed the "plot and not the plotters, you would have racked "this poor body of mine to pieces, to make me "confess." And now we have mentioned the rack, know that never any rack was used on Garnet, except a wit-rack, wherewith he was worsted, and this cunning archer outshot in his own bow; for, being in prison with father Oldcorne, *alias* Hall, his confessor, they were put into an equivocating room [y], as I may term it, which pretended nothing but privacy, yet had a reservation of some invisible persons within it, earwitnesses to all the passages betwixt them, whereby many secrecies of Garnet's were discovered. Earl of Salisbury's question answered.

49. In Guildhall he was arraigned before the lord mayor and the lords of the privy council; sir Baptist Hicks (afterwards viscount Camden) being foreman of the jury, consisting of knights, esquires, and the most substantial citizens, whose integrities and abilities were above exception. I see therefore no cause why the defender of Garnet, after his death, accuseth those men as incompetent or im- Garnet his arraignment and condemnation.

[y] Abbot in Antilogia, c. 1, f. 15.

A. D. 1606. 5 James. proper for their place, as if he would have had him tried *per pares*, by a jury of Jesuits, (and would he have them all provincials too?) which I believe, though summoned, would unwillingly have appeared in that place. Garnet, pleading little against pregnant proofs, was condemned, and some days after publicly executed in St. Paul's churchyard.

Popish false relations disproved.

50. The secretary of the Spanish ambassador, (for we charitably believe his master honester and wiser,) writing into Spain and Italy what here he took upon hearsay, filled foreign countries with many falsehoods concerning Garnet's death; as namely,

1. That he manifested much alacrity of mind, in the cheerfulness of his looks at his death.	Whereas	1. He betrayed much servile fear and consternation of spirit, much beneath the erected resolution of a martyr.
2. His zealous and fervent prayers much moved the people.		2. His prayers were faint, cold, and perplexed, oft interrupted with his listening to and answering of others.
3. The people hindered the hangman from cutting the rope and quartering him while alive.		3. That favour, by special order from his majesty, was mercifully indulged unto him.
4. The people so clawed the executioner, that he hardly escaped with life.		4. No violence was done unto him, able many years after to give a cast of his office, if need required.
5. When he held up Garnet's head to the people, there was a panic silence, none saying, "God save the "king!"		5. Acclamations in that kind were as loud and general as heretofore on the same occasion.

Thus suffered father Garnet; after whose death some subtle persons have impudently broached, and

other silly people senselessly believed, a certain miracle of his working, which we here relate as we find it reported: A.D. 1607. 5 James.

51. John Wilkinson, a thoroughpaced catholic, living at St. Omers, posted over into England, as having a great desire to get and keep some of Garnet's relics. Great was his diligence in coming early before others to the place of his execution, which advantaged him near to Garnet's person, and greater his patience in staying till all was ended and the rest of the people departed; when, behold! a straw besprinkled with some drops of his blood, and having an ear of corn at the end thereof, leaped up on this Wilkinson[z]—not taking the rise of its leap from the ground, he was sure, but whether from the scaffold, or from the basket wherein Garnet's head was, he was uncertain. Was not this Wilkinson made of jeat, that he drew this straw so wonderfully unto him? Well, however it came to pass, joyfully he departs with this treasure, and deposits the same with the wife of Hugh Griffith, a tailor, (a zealot of his own religion,) who provided a crystal case for the more chary keeping thereof. The solemn tale of Garnet's straw miracle.

52. Some weeks after, upon serious inspection of this straw, the face of a man (and we must believe it was Garnet's) was perceived therein, appearing on the outside of a leaf which covered a grain within it, and where the convexity thereof represented the prominency of the face with good advantage. Wilkinson, Hugh Griffith and his wife, Thomas Laithwaith, and others, beheld the same, Garnet's picture appears in a straw.

[z] Abbot, ib. fol. 198, out of whom, for the main, all this story is taken, with the confutation thereof.

A. D. 1607. 5 James. though there be some difference in their depositions whose eyes had the first happiness to discover this portraiture. Soon after, all England was belittered with the news of this straw, and catholics cried it up for no less than a miracle.

Not presently done. 53. There are two infallible touchstones of a true miracle, which always is done εὐθέως, *presently*, and τελείως, *perfectly*. Neither of these, on examination, appeared here; for when this straw salient leaped first up into Wilkinson's lap, it is to be presumed that he, having it so long in his possession, critically surveyed the same, the volume whereof might quickly be perused; and yet then no such effigiation was therein discovered, which some nineteen weeks after became visible, about the nineteenth of September following. Surely had this pregnant straw gone out its full time of forty weeks, it would have been delivered of a perfect picture indeed; whereas, now miscarrying before that time, wonder not if all things were not so complete therein.

Not perfectly done. 54. For the face therein was not so exact as which might justly entitle heaven to the workmanship thereof. Say not it was done in too small a scantling to be accurate; for *Deus est maximus in minimis*—God's exquisiteness appears the most in models [a]. Whereas, when witnesses were examined about this mock-miracle before the archbishop of Canterbury, Francis Bowen deposed that he believed that a good artizan might have drawn one more curiously; and Hugh Griffith himself attested that it was no more like Garnet than to any other man who had a beard; and that it was so small, none

[a] Exodus viii. 18.

could affirm it to resemble him; adding, moreover, that there was no glory or streaming rays about it, which some did impudently report [b]. A. D. 1607. 5 James.

55. However, this inspirited straw was afterward copied out, and at Rome printed in pomp, with many superstitious copartments about it—as a coronet, a cross, and nails, more than ever were in the original. Yea, this miracle, how silly and simple soever, gave the groundwork to Garnet's beatification by the pope some months after. Indeed Garnet complained before his death that he could not expect that the church should own him for a martyr, and signified the same in his letter to his dear mistress Anne, (but for her surname call her Garnet or Vaux [c], as you please,) because nothing of religion and only practices against the state were laid to his charge. It seemed good, therefore, to his holiness not to canonize Garnet for a solemn saint, much less for a martyr, but only to beatificate him; which, if I mistake not, in their heavenly heraldry, is by papists accounted the least and lowest degree of celestial dignity, and yet a step above the commonalty or ordinary sort of such good men as are saved. This he did to qualify the infamy of Garnet's death, and that the perfume of this new title might outscent

Garnet's beatification occasioned by this mock-miracle.

[b] [The Jesuits carried this absurdity to very great lengths. In Spain a painter was employed to make divers pictures of Garnet, with this inscription written underneath: "*Henrico* "*Garnett, Ingles Martoresado* "*en Londres,*" &c. See Winwood, II. 300. At Rome his statue was placed in the church of the Jesuits, among other martyrs of that society. See Bernardin. Geraldus, Patavinus, in his Apologia pro Senatu Veneto, or Renati Verdæi Statera, (Lugduni 1637, 12mo,) p. 127, where the whole passage is quoted at length.]

[c] [She was one of the aunts to lord Vaux of Harrowden in Warwickshire, according to Lingard, Hist. VI. 48, n.]

A. D. 1607. 5 James. the stench of his treason. But we leave this Garnet (loth longer to disturb his blessedness) in his own place, and proceed to such church matters as were transacted in this present parliament.

Acts against papists in parliament, but principally the oath of obedience.

56. Evil manners prove often (though against their will) the parents of good laws, as here it came to pass. The parliament, begun and holden at Westminster the fifth of November, and there continued till the twenty-seventh of May following, enacted many things for the discovering and repressing of popish recusants, extant at large in the printed statutes; whereof none was more effectual than that oath of obedience which every catholic was commanded to take, the form whereof is here inserted; the rather, because this oath may be termed (like two of Isaac's wells, *Esek* and *Sitnah* [d]) Contention and Hatred, the subject of a tough controversy betwixt us and Rome, about the legal urging and taking thereof,—protestants no less learnedly asserting, than papists did zealously oppose the same [e].

The form of which Oath is as followeth [f]*:*

"I, A. B., do truly and sincerely acknowledge, "profess, testify, and declare in my conscience "before God and the world, that our sovereign lord "king James is lawful and rightful king of this "realm, and of all other his majesty's dominions "and countries; and that the pope, neither of him-"self nor by any authority of the church or see of

[d] Gen. xxvi. 20, 21.

[e] [According to Lingard, (Hist. of Eng. VI. 69,) the framing of this oath was committed to archbishop Abbot and sir Christopher Perkins, a conforming Jesuit.]

[f] [Wilkins' Conc. IV. 425.]

" Rome, or by any other means with any other, hath A.D. 1607. 5 James.
" any power or authority to depose the king, or to
" dispose any of his majesty's kingdoms or dominions,
" or to authorize any foreign prince to invade or
" annoy him or his countries, or to discharge any of
" his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to
" his majesty, or to give licence or leave to any of
" them to bear arms, raise tumult, or to offer any
" violence or hurt to his majesty's royal person,
" state, or government, or to any of his majesty's
" subjects within his majesty's dominions.

" Also I do swear from my heart, that notwith-
" standing any declaration or sentence of excommu-
" nication or deprivation made or granted, or to be
" made or granted, by the pope or his successors, or
" by any authority derived or pretended to be de-
" rived from him or his see, against the said king,
" his heirs or successors, or any absolution of the
" said subjects from their obedience, I will bear faith
" and true allegiance to his majesty, his heirs and
" successors, and him and them will defend to the
" uttermost of my power against all conspiracies and
" attempts whatsoever which shall be made against
" his or their persons, their crown and dignity, by
" reason or colour of any such sentence or decla-
" ration, or otherwise, and will do my best endea-
" vour to disclose and make known unto his majesty,
" his heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous
" conspiracies which I shall know or hear of, to be
" against him or any of them.

" And I do farther swear, that I do from my
" heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and
" heretical, this damnable doctrine and position,
" ' that princes which be excommunicated or de-

A. D. 1607. 5 James. "prived by the pope may be deposed or murdered "by their subjects, or any other whatsoever.'

"And I do believe, and in conscience am resolved, "that neither the pope nor any person whatsoever "hath power to absolve me of this oath, or any "part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and "full authority to be lawfully ministered unto me, "and do renounce all pardons and dispensations to "the contrary. And all these things I do plainly "and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according "to these express words by me spoken, and ac- "cording to the plain and common sense and un- "derstanding of the same words, without any equi- "vocation or mental evasion, or secret reservation "whatsoever. And I do make this recognition and "acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and truly, "upon the true faith of a Christian. So help me "God [g]."

This oath was devised to discriminate the pernicious from the peaceable papists — "sure bind, "sure find;" and the makers of this were necessitated to be larger therein, because it is hard to strangle equivocation, which, if unable by might to break, will endeavour by sleight to slip the halter.

The pope his two breves against this oath.

57. No sooner did the news thereof arrive at the ears of his holiness, but presently he dispatcheth his breve into England [h], prohibiting all catholics to take this oath, so destructive to their own souls and the see of Rome; exhorting them patiently to

[g] [The first is dated 22nd Sept. 1606, and the other the 23rd Aug. 1607. Both are printed in Wilkins' Conc. II. 430, from Foulis' Romish Treasons, book X. 3.]

[h] See king James his Works, p. 250, [ed. 1616, folio.]

suffer persecution, and manfully to endure martyrdom [i]. And because report was raised that the pope wrote this breve "not of his own accord and proper will, but rather for the respect and at the instigation of others," next year he sent a second, to give faith and confirmation to the former [k]. Notwithstanding all which, this oath, being tendered to, was generally taken by catholics, without any scruple or regret; and particularly, George Blackwell, archpriest of the English, being apprehended and cast into prison, by taking this oath wrought his own enlargement: which made cardinal Bellarmine (some forty years ago acquainted with him) in his Letters [l] kindly to reprove him for the same. A.D. 1607. 5 James.

58. And now, the alarm being given, whether this oath was lawful or no, both parties of protestants and papists drew forth their forces into the field. King James undertook the pope himself—the wearer of three against the wearer of a triple crown, (an even match,)—effectually confuting his breves; bishop Andrews takes Bellarmine to task; bishop Barlow pours out upon Parsons; doctor Morton, doctor Robert Abbot, doctor Buckeridge, doctor Collins, doctor Burrel, master Tomson, doctor Peter Moulin, maintain the legality of the oath, against Suarez, Eudæmon, Becanus, Cofteteus, Peleterius, and others; to whose worthy works the reader is referred for his farther satisfaction. I may call at, not go into these controversies, lest, by staying so long, I be benighted in my way; the rather, because the nearer we approach our home, Pens tilting at pens about the lawfulness of this oath.

[i] [See Carte's Hist. III. 782.]

[k] Extant, ibid. p. 258.

[l] Extant, ibid. p. 260.

A. D. 1607. 5 James. the longer the miles grow;—I mean, matter multiplieth toward the conclusion of our work. And now it is not worth the while to go into the contemporary convocation, where we meet with nothing but formality and continuations [m].

[m] [Not the least among these was Dr. Donne, in his work entitled "Pseudo-Martyr; "wherein, out of certain pro- "positions and gradations this "conclusion is evicted,—that "those which are of the Ro- "man religion in this country "may and ought to take the "oath of allegiance. Lond. "1610."]

SECT. III.

THOMÆ DACRES,

DE

CHESHUNT, ARMIGERO [a].

Audisti sæpius de rotunda tabula, quam Wintonia jactitat: hanc regem Arthurum instituisse ferunt; ne inter milites ejus discumbentes aliquid discordiæ ob πρωτοκαθεδρίαν oriretur.

Nosti quales olim libri fuerint cum in gyrum rotarentur. Hinc adhuc inter Latinos volumen a volvendo obtinet. Nihil igitur interest quo ordine patroni mei collocentur, cum in circulari forma inter primum et imum nihil sit discriminis.

Sed quorsum hæc! Cum genus tuum, licet splendidum, (tanta est comitas, quæ te illustrem reddidit) non fastuose consulas. Tibi omnia prospera. Vale.

[a] [Arms. Argent, a chevron sable between three torteaux charged with as many scalops of the first.

Eldest son of sir Thomas Dacres, of Cheshunt, knight, and Martha daughter of Thomas Elmes, Esq., of Lilford in the county of Northampton. He married Elizabeth daughter of sir Robert Austen, bart., of Bexley in Kent. In 1614 he was sheriff of the county, and in 1660 nominated for one of the knights of the Royal Oak. Probably for the zeal and bravery shewn by himself and his family in defence of the royal cause. (See Lloyd's Worthies, p. 682.)

Several of this family enjoyed the dignity of sheriffs in their county, (see further the Pisgah Sight, p. 408, and the Worthies, II. 62, 64,) and were connected by marriage with the family of the celebrated sir Robert Atkins.]

A. D. 1607. 5 James.

The names, places, and several employments of the translators of the Bible.

WE may remember that one of the best things produced by Hampton Court conference was a resolution in his majesty for a new translation of the Bible: which religious design was now effectually prosecuted, and the translators, being seven and forty in number, digested into six companies, and several books assigned them, in order as followeth, according unto the several places wherein they were to meet, confer, and consult together; so that nothing should pass without a general consent [b].

WESTMINSTER 10.

The Pentateuch; the Story from Joshua to the first Book of the Chronicles, exclusively.

Dr. [Lancelot] Andrews, fellow and master of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge; then dean of Westminster; after bishop of Winchester.

Dr. [John] Overall, fellow of Trinity College, master of Katherine Hall in Cambridge; then dean of St. Paul's; after bishop of Norwich.

Dr. [Hadrianus] Saravia, [D. D. of Leyden.]

Dr. Clarke, fellow of Christ College in Cambridge, preacher in Canterbury.

[b] [See the king's letter to the bishop of London, signifying his pleasure that whenever any parsonage or prebend fell vacant in the province of York or Canterbury, it should be reserved for some of the fifty-four persons employed in translating the Bible; and enjoining the bishops to seek out such persons as have especial skill in the Hebrew and Greek tongues, that they may be earnestly charged to send such observations as they may have made thereupon to Mr. Lively, Dr. Harding, or Dr. Andrews, dean of Westminster. Dated, 22nd July, 1604. Wilkins' Conc. IV. p. 407.]

Dr. [John] Laifield, fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, parson of St. Clement Danes. Being skilled in architecture, his judgment was much relied on for the fabric of the Tabernacle and Temple. A.D. 1607. 5 James.

Dr. Leigh, archdeacon of Middlesex, parson of Allhallows-Barking.

Master [Francis] Burgley.

Mr. King.

Mr. Thompson.

Mr. [William] Bedwell, of Cambridge, and (I think) of St. John's, vicar of Tottenham nigh London [c].

CAMBRIDGE 8.

From the first of the Chronicles, with the rest of the Story, and the Hagiographa, viz. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes.

Master [Edward] Lively, [Hebrew reader at Cambridge.]

Mr. [John] Richardson, fellow of Emmanuel; after D. D. Master first of Peter House, then of Trinity College.

Mr. [Laurence] Chaderton, after D. D. Fellow first of Christ College, then master of Emmanuel.

[c] [He was a considerable Arabic scholar, and employed to translate the letters sent from the East to king James. Some of his letters are still preserved in the Bodleian. See Tanner's MS. lxxix. He was presented to the vicarage of Tottenham, by bishop Andrews, (see Andrews' Life, 4to, 1650,) probably as a reward for his labour in translating the Bible. Wood says, (Ath. III. 329,) that he was the only person in England with whom the profession of Arabic then remained. He died about 1632, and has written some account of Tottenham. Among other labours, he assisted Petro Soave in his history of the Council of Trent, according to Lilly. Life, p. 34. See also Parr's Usher, Letters, pp. 11, 12.]

A. D. 1607. 5 James. Mr. Dillingham, fellow of Christ College, beneficed at ———— in Bedfordshire, where he died a single and a wealthy man.

Mr. [Roger] Andrews, after D. D., brother to the bishop of Winchester, and master of Jesus College.

Mr. Harrison, the reverend vice-master of Trinity College.

Mr. [Robert] Spalding, fellow of St. John's in Cambridge, and Hebrew professor therein [d].

Mr. [Andrew] Bing, fellow of Peter House in Cambridge, and Hebrew professor therein, [before Spalding.]

OXFORD 7.

The four greater Prophets, with the Lamentations, and the twelve lesser Prophets.

Dr. [John] Harding, president of Magdalen College, [and Hebrew reader in Oxford.]

Dr. [John] Reynolds, president of Corpus Christi College.

Dr. [Thomas] Holland, rector of Exeter College, and king's professor.

Dr. [Richard] Kilby, rector of Lincoln College, and regius professor, [of Hebrew.]

Master [Miles] Smith, after D. D. and bishop of Gloucester. He made the learned and religious preface to the translation [e].

Mr. [Richard] Brett, of a worshipful family, beneficed at Quainton in Buckinghamshire.

Mr. Fairclowe, [otherwise called, Daniel Featley?]

[d] See our Catalogue of the Hebrew Professors in Cambridge, to marshal their succession.

[e] [See Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 69. Called 'the very walking library,' from his great expertness in languages. Wood's Ath. I. 490.]

A. D. 1607.
5 James.

CAMBRIDGE 7.

The Prayer of Manasseh, and the rest of the Apocrypha.

Dr. [John] Duport, prebend of Ely, and master of Jesus College; [professor of Greek in the university of Cambridge.]

Dr. [William] Brainthwait, first fellow of Emmanuel; then master of Gonvile and Caius College.

Dr. Radcliffe, one of the senior fellows of Trinity College.

Master [Samuel] Ward, Emmanuel; after D. D. Master of Sidney College, and Margaret professor.

Mr. [Andrew] Downes, fellow of St. John's College, and Greek professor.

Mr. [John] Boyse, fellow of St. John's College, prebend of Ely, parson of Boxworth in Cambridgeshire [f].

Mr. Ward [fellow of Queen's]; after D. D. Prebend of Chichester, rector of Bishop-Waltham in Hampshire.

OXFORD 8.

The four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Apocalypse.

Dr. [Thomas] Ravis, dean of Christ Church, afterwards bishop of London.

Dr. [George] Abbot, master of University College, afterward archbishop of Canterbury.

Dr. [Richard] Eedes, [dean of Worcester.]

Mr. [Giles] Thompson, [afterwards bishop of Gloucester.]

Mr. [Henry] Savile.

[f] [Of this Dr. John Bois, who died 14th Jan. 1643, a very amusing life will be found in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, p. 325, ed. 4to, 1799.]

v. The division of the chapters to be altered either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require. A. D. 1607. 5 James.

vi. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words, which cannot without some circumlocution so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text.

vii. Such quotations of places to be marginally set down, as shall serve for the fit reference of one scripture to another.

viii. Every particular man of each company to take the same chapter or chapters; and, having translated or amended them severally by himself where he thinks good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their part what shall stand.

ix. As any one company hath dispatched any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest, to be considered of seriously and judiciously; for his majesty is very careful in this point.

x. If any company, upon the review of the book so sent, shall doubt or differ upon any places, to send them word thereof, note the places, and therewithal send their reasons; to which if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company, at the end of the work.

xi. When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority, to send to any learned in the land, for his judgment in such a place.

xii. Letters to be sent from every bishop to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this trans-

A.D. 1607. 5 James. lation in hand; and to move and charge as many as, being skilful in the tongues, have taken pains in that kind, to send his particular observations to the company, either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford.

xiii. The directors in each company to be, the deans of Westminster and Chester for that place, and the king's professors in the Hebrew and Greek in each university.

xiv. These translations to be used, when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible, viz. Tindal's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch, Geneva.

Besides the said directions before mentioned, three or four of the most ancient and grave divines in either of the universities, not employed in translating, to be assigned by the vice-chancellor, upon conference with the rest of the heads, to be overseers of the translations, as well Hebrew as Greek, for the better observation of the fourth rule above specified.

Mr. Lively his death.

2. The untimely death of Mr. Edward Lively (much weight of the work lying on his skill in the Oriental tongues) happening about this time, (happy that servant whom his master, when he cometh, findeth so doing,) not a little retarded their proceedings. However, the rest vigorously, though slowly, proceeded in this hard, heavy, and holy task, nothing offended with the censures of impatient people, condemning their delays (though indeed but due deliberation) for laziness. Our pen for the present taketh its leave of them, not doubting but within

two years to give a good account of them, or rather that they will give a good account of themselves [h]. A. D. 1607. 5 James.

[h] ["Four years were spent "in this first service; at the "end whereof, the whole work "being finished, and three "copies of the whole Bible "sent from Cambridge, Ox-"ford, and Westminster, to "London, a new choice was "to be made of six in all, two "out of every company, to "review the whole work, and "extract one [copy] out of all "three, to be committed to the "press. For the dispatch of "which business Mr. Downes "and Mr. Bois were sent for "up to London; where meet-"ing (though Mr. Downes "would not go till he was "either fetched or threatened "with a pursuivant) their four "fellow-labourers, they went "daily to Stationers' Hall, and "in three quarters of a year "finished their task. All which "time they had from the com-"pany of stationers thirty shil-"lings each per week duly "paid them; though they had "nothing before but their self-"rewarding ingenious indus-"try." Peck, ib. p. 333-4.

Edward Lively, Hebrew professor in the university of Cambridge, and prebendary of Peterborough, died in April, 1605, and was buried in Surleigh Church in Essex. Cole's Ath. Cant. MSS. L. His sermon was preached by Dr. Thomas Playfare, Margaret professor of divinity in the university of Cambridge, at St. Mary's, May 10, 1605; the following extract from which sermon, entitled "The Felicity of the Faithful," gives the best description of this good man: "This our dear "brother, Mr. Edward Lively, "who now resteth in the Lord, "had a life which in a manner "was nothing else but a con-"tinual flood of many waters, "never out of suits of law, "never-ceasing disquieters of "his study; his goods dis-"trained, and his cattle driven "off his ground, as Job's was. "His dear wife, being not so "well able to bear so great a "flood as he, even for very "sorrow presently died—a la-"mentable and rueful case! "so many children to hang "upon his hand, for which he "had never maintenance, nei-"ther yet now had stay, his "wife being gone. Well, but "that sorrowful time was "blown over. He was ap-"pointed to be one of the "chiefest translators; and as "soon as it was known how "far in this travail he did "more than any of the rest, "he was very well provided "for in respect of living; for "which my lord his grace of "Canterbury, [Richard Ban-"croft,] now living, is much "to be reverenced and ho-"noured. But being so well "to pass, both for himself and "for his children, suddenly he "fell sick: he was taken with "an ague and a quinsey both "together. The quinsey being, "both by himself and his "friends, not greatly regarded, "within four days took away

A. D. 1607. 5 James.

The death of Dr. Reynolds.

In the translating of the Bible, one of the eminent persons employed therein was translated into a better life, viz.

3. Doctor John Reynolds, king's professor in Oxford, born in Devonshire, with bishop Jewel and Mr. Hooker, and all three bred in Corpus Christi College in Oxford. No one county in England bare three such men, (contemporary at large [i],) in what college soever they were bred; no college in England bred such three men, in what county soever they were born.

A strange encounter.

4. This John Reynolds at the first was a zealous papist, whilst William his brother was as earnest a protestant; and afterwards Providence so ordered it, that by their mutual disputation John Reynolds turned an eminent protestant, and William an inveterate papist, in which persuasion he died.

" his life. He was professor " of the Hebrew tongue in this " university thirty years, as his " father-in-law, Dr. Larkyn, " had been professor of physic " five or six and thirty years. " He was upon three score " years old when he died. He " wrote a book of annotations " upon the first five small pro- " phets, [Lond. 1587, 8vo,] de- " dicated to that great patron " of learning and learned men, " sir Francis Walsingham. But " in mine opinion he took " greatest pains in his Chro- " nology, which he dedicated " to Dr. J. Whitgift, the reve- " rend late archbishop of Can- " terbury. This book, indeed, " is full of hidden learning, " and sheweth infinite reading " in stories." The same author says that " this good man " was so anxious in promoting " the translation of the Bible, " that oftentimes, in many " men's hearing, he protested " he had rather die than be " any way negligent herein; " which, as some think, by all " likelihood came indeed so to " pass: to wit, that too ear- " nest study and pains about " the translation hastened his " death, and brought it on " sooner." Playfare's Sermons, ed. 1633, vol. II. p. 209, sq. There is a very interesting letter written by Lively to archbishop Whitgift, soliciting for the prebend of Peterborough, among the Harl. MSS.]

[i] He was bachelor of arts before bishop Jewel's death.

This gave the occasion to an excellent copy of verses, concluding with this distich : A. D. 1607. 5 James.

Quod genus hoc pugnæ est? ubi victus gàudet uterque,
Et simul alteruter se superasse dolet.

"What war is this? when conquer'd both are glad,
And either to have conquer'd other sad."

Daniel saith, *Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased* [k]. But here indeed was a strange transcursion, and remarkable the effects thereof.

5. His memory was little less than miraculous, he himself being the truest table to the multitude of voluminous books he had read over, whereby he could readily turn to all material passages in every leaf, page, volume, paragraph—not to descend lower, to lines and letters. As his memory was a faithful index, so his reason was a solid judex of what he read. His humility set a lustre on all, (admirable that the whole should be so low, whose several parts were so high,) communicative of which he knew to any that desired information herein, like a tree loaden with fruit, bowing down its branches to all that desired to ease it of the burden thereof, deserving this epitaph : His admirable parts and piety.

Incertum est utrum doctior an melior.

6. His disaffection to the discipline established in England was not so great as some bishops did suspect, or as more nonconformists did believe. No doubt he desired the abolishing of some ceremonies (for the ease of the conscience of others) to which in Most conformable in his practice to the church of England.

[k] Chap. xii. ver. 4.

A.D. 1607. 5 James. his own practice he did willingly submit, constantly wearing hood and surplice, and kneeling at the sacrament. On his death-bed he earnestly desired absolution, according to the form of the church of England, and received it from doctor Holland, whose hand he affectionately kissed [1] in expression of the joy he received thereby. Doctor Featly made his funeral oration in the college, sir Isaac Wake in the university [m].

Mr. Molle his birth and breeding.

7. About this time Mr. John Molle, governor to the lord Ross in his travels, began his unhappy journey beyond the seas. This Mr. Molle was born in or near South Molton in Devon. His youth was most spent in France, where both by sea and land he gained much dangerous experience. Once the ship he sailed in sprung a leak, wherein he and all his company had perished, if an Hollander, (bound for Guernsey,) passing very near, had not speedily taken them in; which done, their ship sunk immediately. Being treasurer for sir Thomas Shirley, of the English army in Brittany, he was in the defeat of Cambray wounded, taken prisoner, and ransomed; Providence designing him neither to be swallowed

[1] Dr. Crackenthorp in his Defensio Eccl. Angl. c. 69.

[m] [Of which an English translation was printed by our author in his Abel Red., Life of Dr. Reynolds, p. 492. Of Dr. Reynolds' conformity to the church of England, the testimony of Crakenthorpe alone would be sufficient, who was intimate with Reynolds, and originally held the same principles, in the earlier part of his life, (see Wood's Ath. I. 491;) but the passages quoted from his writings, in proof of his conformity, by Crakenthorpe, in the "Defensio Ec- "clesiæ, &c." must decide the question; more especially as, in addition to these authorities, he quotes a letter, at that time in his own possession, of Dr. Reynolds to archbishop Bancroft, wherein the Doctor expresses his entire conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England.]

by the surges nor slain by the sword, but in due time to remain a landmark of Christian patience to all posterity. At last he was appointed by Thomas earl of Exeter, who formerly had made him examiner in the council of the north, to be governor in travel to his grandchild, the lord Ross; undertaking the charge with much reluctancy, (as a presage of ill success,) and with a profession and a resolution not to pass the Alps. A. D. 1607. 5 James.

8. But a vagary took the lord Ross to go to Rome, though some conceive this motion had its root in more mischievous brains. In vain doth Mr. Molle dissuade him, grown now so wilful he would in some sort govern his governor. What should this good man do? To leave him, were to desert his trust; to go along with him, was to endanger his own life. At last his affections to his charge so prevailed against his judgment, that, unwillingly willing, he went with him. Now, at what rate soever they rode to Rome, the fame of their coming came thither before them; so that no sooner had they entered their inn, but officers asked for Mr. Molle, took and carried him to the inquisition-house, where he remained a prisoner, whilst the lord Ross was daily feasted, favoured, entertained: so that some will not stick to say, that here he changed no religion for a bad one. His sad dilemma.

9. However, such Mr. Molle's glorious constancy, that whilst he looked forward on his cause, and upwards to his crown, neither frights nor flattery could make any impression on him. It is questionable whether his friends did more pity his misery or admire his patience. The pretence and allegation of his so long and strict imprisonment was because His constancy in the inquisition.

A. D. 1607. 5 James. he had translated Du Plessis his book of "The Visi- "bility of the Church" out of French into English; but besides, there were other contrivances therein, not so fit for a public relation. In vain did his friends in England, though great and many, endeavour his enlargement by exchange for one or moe Jesuits or priests, who were prisoners here; papists beholding this Molle as a man of a thousand, who, if discharged the inquisition, might give an account of Romish cruelty to their great disadvantage.

His death in durance. 10. In all the time of his durance he never heard from any friend, nor any from him, by word or letter [n]; no Englishman being ever permitted to see him, save only one, viz. Mr. Walter Strickland, of Boynton House in Yorkshire. With very much desire and industry, he procured leave to visit him, an Irish friar being appointed to stand by and be a witness of their discourse. Here he remained thirty years in restraint, and in the eighty-first year of his age died a prisoner, and constant confessor of Christ his cause [o]. God be magnified in and for the sufferings of his saints!

The death of bishop Vaughan. 11. In this year Richard Vaughan, doctor of divinity, bred in St. John's College in Cambridge, successively bishop of Bangor, Chester, and London, ended his life: a corpulent man, but spiritually minded, such his integrity not to be bowed (though force was not wanting) to any base connivance to wrong the church he was placed in. His many virtues made his loss to be much bemoaned [p].

[n] So am I informed by a letter from Mr. Henry Molle, his son.

[o] [About the year of our Lord 1638. Fuller's Worthies, p. 250.]

[p] [A Life of this prelate, by archbishop Williams, his chap-

12. Greater was the grief which the death of master Thomas Brightman caused to the disaffectors of the church discipline of England. He was born in the town of Nottingham, bred in Queen's College in Cambridge, where a constant opposition, in point of judgment about ceremonies, was maintained between him and doctor Meryton, afterwards dean of York. Here he filled himself with abilities for the ministry, waiting a call to vent himself in the country. A. D. 1607. 5 James. Mr. Brightman's birth and breeding.

13. It happened this very time that sir John, son to Mr. Peter Osborne [q], (both lovers of learned and godly men,) not only bought and restored the rectory of Hawnes in Bedfordshire (formerly alienated) to the church, but also built thereon from the ground a fair house, which he furnished with fitting utensils for the future incumbent thereof. This done, at his desire of an able minister, doctor Whitaker recommended master Brightman unto him, on whom sir John not only freely conferred the living, but also the profits of two former years, which the knight inned at his own cost, and kept in his possession. A patron paramount.

14. Here Mr. Brightman employed himself, both by preaching and writing, to advance God's glory and the good of the church: witness his learned comments, in most pure Latin, on the Canticles and Revelation; though for the latter greatly grudged at on several accounts [r]: Exceptions against master Brightman's book.

lain, is preserved among the Harleian MSS., 6495. See also sir J. Harrington's Catalogue of Bishops, p. 48. He died of an apoplexy, and was succeeded by Dr. Ravis, dean of Christ Church.]

q [Father to Francis Osborne, author of the Traditional Memoirs of Elizabeth and James I.; who also had a son named John, probably from his grandfather. See Wood's Ath. vol. I. p. 706.]

r [1. "Scholia in Canticum "Canticorum. Explicatio par-

A.D. 1607. 5 James.

i. For the title thereof, conceived too insolent for any creature to affix—"A Revelation of the Reve-"lation;" except immediate inspiration, which made the lock, had given the key unto it.

ii. For being over-positive in his interpretations; the rather because the reverend Mr. Calvin himself, being demanded his opinion of some passages in the Revelation, (as a learned man reporteth [s],) answered ingenuously, "that he knew not at all what so "obscure a writer meant."

iii. For over-particularizing in personal expositions, applying several angels mentioned therein to the lord Cromwell, archbishop Cranmer, Cecil lord Burley, &c. [t]; such restrictiveness being unsuitable with the large concernment of scripture: as if England, half an island in the western corner, were more considerable than all the world besides, and the theatre whereon so much should be performed [u].

iv. In resembling the church of England to lukewarm Laodicea, praising and preferring the purity of foreign protestant churches.

"tis ultimæ et difficillimæ pro-"phetiæ Danielis." Basil. 1614. 8vo.

2. "Apocalypsis Apocalyp-"seos, id est, Apocalypsis D. "Joannis Analysi et Scholiis "illustrata." Francof. 1609. 4to.]

[s] Bodinus in his Methodus Histor. chap. vii. p. 310. Amst. 1650.]

[t] Chap. xiv. ver. 18. He maketh archbishop Cranmer the angel to have power over the fire; and (chap. xvi. ver. 5) he makes William Cecil, lord treasurer of England, the angel of the waters, (if lord admiral, it had been more proper,) justifying the pouring out of the third vial.

[u] [Cromwell, in his capacity of vicar-general, he makes to be the angel with the sharp sickle. Rev. xiv. 17. See p. 396. Andreas Eudæmon-Johannes, a Jesuit, famous for his defence of father Garnet, wrote an answer to Brightman's book, entitled, "Casti-"gatio Apocalypsis Apocalyp-"seos Thomæ Brightmanni "Angli." Col. Agrip. 1611. 12mo.]

Indeed his daily discourse was against episcopal government, which he declared would shortly be pulled down. He spake also of great troubles which would come upon the land; of the destruction of Rome, and the universal calling of the Jews, affirming, that some then alive should see all these things effected. A. D. 1607. 5 James.

15. However, his life was most angelical, by the confession of such who in judgment dissented from him. His manner was always to carry about him a Greek Testament, which he read over every fortnight, reading the Gospels and the Acts the first, the Epistles and the Apocalypse the second week. He was little of stature, and (though such commonly choleric) yet never known to be moved with anger; and therefore, when his pen falls foul on Romish superstition, his friends account it zeal, and no passion. His angelical life.

16. His desire was to die a sudden death, if God so pleased, surely not out of opposition to the English liturgy praying against the same, but for some reasons best known to himself. God granted him his desire,—a death sudden in respect of the shortness of the time, though premeditated on and prepared for by him who waited for his change, and, being a watchful soldier, might be assaulted, not surprised; for, riding in a coach with sir John Osborne, and reading of a book, (for he would lose no time,) he fainted, and, though instantly taken out in a servant's arms, and set on his lap on an hillock, all means affordable at that instant being used for his recovery, died on the place, on the twenty-fourth of August, and is buried in the chancel of Hawnes, (reverend doctor Bulkley preaching his funeral His sudden death.

A. D. 1607. 5 James. sermon,) after he had faithfully fed his flock therein for fifteen years.

Whence we derive our intelligence.

17. He was a constant student, much troubled before his death with obstructions both of the liver and gall, and is supposed by physicians to have died of the latter, about the fifty-first year of his age; and now, no doubt, he is in the number of those *virgins who were not defiled with women, and follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth* [x];—who always led a single life, as preferring a bed unfilled before a bed undefiled. This my intelligence I have received by letter, from my worthy friend lately gone to God, master William Buckly, bachelor of divinity, and once fellow of Queen's College in Cambridge, who, living hard by Hawnes, at Clifton, at my request diligently inquired, and returned this his character from aged, credible persons familiar with master Brightman.

18. This year silently slipped away in peace, plenty, and prosperity, being ended before effectually begun, as to any memorable church-matter therein. Indeed all the reign of king James was better for one to live under than to write of, consisting of a champion of constant tranquillity, without any tumours of trouble to entertain posterity with.

An act for Chelsea College.

19. In the parliament now sitting at Westminster [y], (in whose parallel convocation nothing of consequence,) the most remarkable thing enacted was, the act made to enable the provost and fellows of Chelsea College to dig a trench out of the river

[x] Rev. xiv. 4.

[y] [The parliament began its sittings in February.]

Lea, to erect engines, water-works, &c. to convey and carry water in close pipes under ground, unto the city of London and the suburbs thereof, for the perpetual maintenance and sustentation of the provost and fellows of that college, and their successors, by the rent to be made of the said waters so conveyed[z]. Where, first lighting on the mention of this college, we will consider it in a fourfold capacity: 1. As intended and designed. 2. As growing and advanced. 3. As hindered and obstructed. 4. As decaying, and almost, at the present, ruined. I shall crave the reader pardon, if herein I make excursions into many years, but without discomposing of our chronology on the margin; because it is my desire, though the college be left imperfect, to finish and complete my description thereof, so far as my best intelligence will extend; being herein beholding to doctor Samuel Wilkinson, the fourth and present provost of that college, courteously communicating unto me the considerable records thereof.

A. D. 1609. 7 James.

20. It was intended for a spiritual garrison, with a magazine of all books for that purpose, where learned divines should study and write in maintenance of all controversies against the papists. Indeed the Romanists herein may rise up and condemn those of the protestant confession; for, as Solomon used not his military men for any servile work in building the temple, whereof the text assigneth this reason, *for they were men of war*[a], so the Romish

The glory of the design.

[z] [This act is printed in Stow's Survey of London, vol. i. p. 165, where there is also some account of this college, but principally derived from our author.]

[a] 2 Chron. viii. 9.

A. D. 1609. 7 James. church doth not burden their professors with preaching, or any parochial incumbrances, but reserves them only for polemical studies: whereas in England the same man reads, preacheth, catechiseth, disputes, delivers sacraments, &c. So that, were it not for God's marvellous blessing on our studies, and the infinite odds of truth on our side, it were impossible, in human probability, that we should hold up the bucklers against them. Besides the study of divinity, at the least two able historians were to be maintained in this college, faithfully and learnedly to record and publish to posterity all memorable passages in church and commonwealth.

King James his mortmain and personal benefaction. 21. In pursuance of this design, his majesty incorporated the said foundation, by the name of king James his college in Chelsea, and bestowed on the same, by his letters patents, the reversion of good land in Chelsea, then in possession of Charles earl of Nottingham, the lease thereof not expiring till about thirty years hence; and also gave it a capacity to receive of his loving subjects any lands, not exceeding in the whole the yearly value of three thousand pounds.

Dr. Sutcliffe his bounty. 22. Next king James let me place Dr. Matthew Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter; who, though no prince by birth, seems little less by his bounty to this college. As Araunah, but a private subject, gave things *as a king*[b] to God's service, such the royal liberality of this doctor, bestowing on this college the farms of

i. Kingston, in the parish of Staverton. ii. Hazzard, in the parish of Harberton. iii. Appleton, in the parish of Churchstow. iv. Kramerland, in the

[b] 2 Sam. xxiv. 23.

parish of Stoke-Rivers;—all in the county of Devon, and, put together, richly worth three hundred pounds per annum. A. D. 1609. 7 James.

Besides these, by his will, dated Nov. 1, 1628, he bequeathed unto Dr. John Prideaux and Dr. Clifford, (as feoffees in trust, to settle the same on the college,) the benefit of the extent on a statute of four thousand pounds, acknowledged by sir Lewis Stukeley, &c.; a bountiful benefaction, and the greater, because the said doctor had a daughter, and she children of her own. And although this endowment would scarce make the *pot of pottage seethe for the sons of the prophets* [c], yet what feasts would it have made in his private family, if continued therein! Seeing, therefore, so public a mind in so private a man, the more the pity that this good doctor was deserted, Uriah-like [d], engaged in the forefront to fight alone against an army of difficulties which he encountered in this design; whilst such men basely retired from him, which should have seasonably succoured and seconded him in this action.

23. The fabric of this college was begun on a piece of ground called Thameshot, containing about six acres, and then in possession of Charles earl of Nottingham, who granted a lease of his term therein to the said provost, at the yearly rent of seven pounds ten shillings. King James laid the first stone thereof, and gave all the timber requisite thereunto, which was to be fetched out of Windsor Forest; and yet that long range of building, which alone is extant, scarce finished at this day, (thus made, though not of free-stone, of free-timber,) as I The structure.

[c] 2 Kings iv. 38, 39. [d] 2 Sam. xi. 15.

A.D. 1609. 7 James. am informed, cost (O the dearness of church and college work!) full three thousand pound. But, alas! what is this piece (not an eighth part) to a double quadrant, besides wings on each side, which was intended? If the aged fathers, which remembered the magnificence of Solomon's, wept at the meanness of the second temple [e], such must needs be sad which consider the disproportion betwixt what was performed and what was projected in this college; save that I confess that the destruction of beautiful buildings, once really extant, leave greater impressions in men's minds than the miscarriages of only intentional structures, and the faint ideas of such future things as are probably propounded, but never effected.

The first provost and fellows.

24. And here we will insert the number and names of the provost and first fellows, (and some of them probable to be last fellows, as still surviving,) as they were appointed by the king himself, anno 1610, May 8th:

Matthew Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, provost.

i. John Overall, dean of St. Paul's.
ii. Thomas Morton, dean of Winchester.
iii. Richard Field, dean of Gloucester [f].
iv. Robert Abbot.
v. John Spenser.
vi. Miles Smith.
vii. William Covell.
viii. John Howson.
ix. John Layfield.
x. Ben. Charrier.

} doctors of divinity.

[e] Ezra iii. 12.
[f] [Author of the Book of the Church.]

A. D. 1609. 7 James.

xi. Martin Fotherby.
xii. John Boys.
xiii. Richard Brett.
xiv. Peter Lilye.
xv. Francis Burley.
} doctors of divinity.

xvi. William Hellier, archdeacon of Barnstable.
xvii. John White, fellow of Manchester College [g].

William Cambden, clarencieux.
John Haywood, doctor of law.
} historians.

See, here, none who were actual bishops were capable of places in this college; and when some of these were afterwards advanced to bishoprics, others translated to heaven, king James by his new letters patent, 1622, Nov. 14, substituted others in their room; amongst whom the archbishop of Spalato (but no more than dean of Windsor in England) was most remarkable.

25. To advance this work, his majesty, anno 1615, sent his letters to the archbishop of Canterbury, to stir up all the clergy in his province to contribute to so pious a work, according to the tenor thereof here inserted:

The king his letters to the archbishop; and his to the bishops.

" Whereas the enemies of the gospel have ever " been forward to write and publish books for con- " firming of erroneous doctrine and impugning the " truth, and now of late seem more careful than " before to send daily into our realms such their " writings, whereby our loving subjects, though other- " wise well disposed, might be seduced, unless some " remedy thereof should be provided: We, by the

g [Most of these persons had been employed in translating the Bible.]

A. D. 1609. 7 James. "advice of our council, have lately granted a cor-
"poration, and given our allowance for erecting a
"college at Chelsea, for learned divines to be em-
"ployed to write, as occasion shall require, for
"maintaining the religion professed in our king-
"doms, and confuting the impugners thereof. Where-
"upon Dr. Sutcliffe, designed provost of the said
"college, hath now humbly signified unto us, that
"upon divers promises of help and assistance towards
"the erecting and endowing the said college, he
"hath at his own charge begun and well proceeded
"in building, as doth sufficiently appear by a good
"part thereof already set up in the place appointed
"for the same. We therefore, being willing to
"favour and further so religious a work, will and
"require you to write your letters to the bishops of
"your province, signifying unto them in our name
"that our pleasure is they deal with the clergy, and
"others of their diocese, to give their charitable
"benevolence for the perfecting of this good work,
"so well begun. And for the better performance of
"our desire, we have given order to the said provost
"and his associates to attend you and others, unto
"whom it may appertain, and to certify us from time
"to time of their proceeding."

[Thetford, the 5th of May, 1616.]

A copy of this his majesty's letter was sent to all the bishops of England, with the archbishop's [h] additional letter, in order as followeth:

"Now because it is so pious and religious a work,
"conducing both to God's glory and the saving of

[h] [George Abbot.]

" many a soul within this kingdom, I cannot but A. D. 1609. 7 James.
" wish that all devout and well-affected persons
" should, by yourself and the preachers in your dio-
" cese, as well publicly as otherwise, be excited to
" contribute in some measure to so holy an intend-
" ment, now well begun. And although these and
" the like motions have been frequent in these
" later times, yet let not those whom God hath
" blessed with any wealth be weary of well-doing,
" that it may not be said, that the idolatrous and
" superstitious papists be more forward to advance
" their falsehoods than we are to maintain God's
" truth.

" Whatsoever is collected, I pray your lordship
" may be carefully brought unto me, partly that it
" pass not through any defrauding hand, and partly
" that his majesty may be acquainted what is done
" in this behalf.

" Your Lordship's, &c."

Yet, for all these hopeful endeavours and collections in all the parishes of England, slow and small were the sums of money brought in to this work. Many of them were scattered out in the gathering them up, the charges of the collectors consuming the profit thereof. If (as it is vehemently suspected) any of these collections be but detained by private persons, I conceive it no trespass against Christian charity, to wish that the pockets which keep such money may rot all their suits that wear them, till they make true restitution thereof.

26. Various are men's conjectures (as directed by their own interest) what obstructed so hopeful Divers opinions touching the non-

A. D. 1609. 7 James. proceedings, and it is safer for me to recite all than resolve on any of them.

proceeding of the college. Some ascribe it to,

i. The common fatality which usually attends noble undertakings; as *partus octimestres*, children born in the eighth month are always not long-lived, so good projects quickly expire.

ii. The untimely death of prince Henry, our principal hope, and the chief author of this design[i]. If so,

Erubuit Domino firmius esse suo.

The modest college blushed to be stronger
Than was its lord; he dead, it liv'd no longer.

But, upon my serious perusal of the records of this college, I find not so much as mention of the name of prince Henry, as in any degree visibly contributive thereunto.

iii. The large, loose, and lax nature thereof, no one prime person (Sutcliffe excepted, whose shoulders sunk under the weight thereof) zealously engaging therein; king James his maintenance amounting to little more than countenance of the work. Those children will have thin chaps and lean cheeks who have every body, and yet nobody, nurses unto them.

iv. The original means of the college, principally founded on the fluid and unconstant element, (unstable as water,) the rent of a New River, when made; which at the best, thus employed, was beheld but as a religious monopoly. And seeing that design then took no effect, (though afterwards, in another

[i] Continuation of Stow's Survey of London, p. 533.

notion and nature, it was perfected,) no wonder if the college sunk with the means thereof. A.D. 1609. 7 James.

v. Some of the greatest prelates[j], (how much self is there in all men!) though seemingly forward, really remiss in the matter; suspecting these controversial divines would be looked on as the principal champions of religion, more serviceable in the church than themselves, and haply might acquire privileges prejudicial to their episcopal jurisdiction.

vi. The jealousy of the universities, beholding this design with suspicious eyes, as which in process of time might prove detrimental unto them; two breasts, Cambridge and Oxford, being counted sufficient for England to suckle all her children with.

vii. The suspicion of some patriots and commoners in parliament, such as carried the keys of countrymen's coffers under their girdles, (may I safely report what I have heard from no mean mouths?) that this college would be too much courtier; and that the divinity, but especially the history thereof, would Ἰακωβίζειν, propend too much in favour of king James, and report all things to the disadvantage of the subject. Wherefore, though the said patriots in parliament countenanced the act, (as counting it no policy publicly to cross the project of king James, especially as it was made popular with so pious a plausibility,) yet, when returned home, by their suspicious items and private instructions, they beat off and retarded people's charities thereunto. The same conceived this foundation superfluous, to keep men to confute popish opinions by writings, whilst the

j This fifth and sixth obstruction signify nothing to discreet men, however they must pass for company sake, and are alleged by some as very material.

A. D. 1609. 7 James. maintainers of them were every where connived at and countenanced, and the penal laws not put in any effectual execution against them.

viii. Its being begun in a bad time, when the world swarmed with prowling projectors and necessitous courtiers, contriving all ways to get monies. We know that even honest persons, if strangers, and casually coming along with the company of those who are bad, contract a suspicion of guilt in the opinions of those to whom they are unknown; and it was the unhappiness of this innocent, yea, useful good design, that it appeared in a time when so many monopolies were on foot.

ix. Some great churchmen, who were the more backward because Dr. Sutcliffe was so forward therein. Such as had not freeness enough to go before him, had frowardness too much to come after him in so good a design; the rather because they distasted his person and opinions, Dr. Sutcliffe being a known rigid anti-remonstrant, and, when old, very morose and testy in his writings against them: an infirmity which all ingenuous people will pardon in him, that hope and desire to attain to old age themselves.

Thus have I opened my wares, with sundry sorts of commodities therein, assigning those reasons which I have either read or heard from prime men of several interests, and am confident that in the variety, yea, contrariety of judgments nowadays, even those very reasons, which are cast away by some as weak and frivolous, will be taken up, yea, preferred by others as most satisfactory and substantial.

The pre- sad n

27. At this present it hath but little of the case,

and nothing of the jewel, for which it was intended; almost rotten before ripe, and ruinous before it was finished. It stands bleak, like a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, having plenty of pleasant water (the Thames) near it, and store of wholesome air about it, but very little of the necessary element of earth belonging unto it. Yea, since I am informed, that seeing the college taketh not effect according to the desire and intent of the first founders, it hath been decreed in chancery, by the joint consent of Dr. Daniel Featly, the third provost of this college, and Dr. John Prideaux, the surviving feoffee intrusted in Dr. Sutcliffe's will, that the foresaid farms of Kingston, Hazzard, and Appleton, should return again to the possession of Mr. Halce, as the heir-general to the said Dr. Sutcliffe: on what consideration, let others inquire; it is enough to persuade me it was done in equity, because done by the lord Coventry in the high court of Chancery. So that now only the farm of Kramerland, in Devonshire, of Sutcliffe's donation, remains to this college. All I will add is this: as this college was intended for controversies, so now there is a controversy about the college, costly suits being lately commenced betwixt William lord Mounston (who married the widow of the aforesaid earl of Nottingham) and the present provost thereof, about the title of the very ground whereon it is situated.

A. D. 1609. 7 James.

28. Three bishops, all Oxford men, ended their lives this year: first, William Overton [k], about the beginning of April, bred in Magdalene College, one sufficiently severe to suppress such whom he sus-

The death of bishops Overton, Heton, and Ravis.

[k] [Of Overton, see sir J. Harrington, p. 117.]

A. D. 1609. 7 James. pected of nonconformity. The second, Martin Heton, first dean of Winchester, and then bishop of Ely[l]: I say of Ely, which see had stood empty almost twenty years in the reign of queen Elizabeth, after the death of bishop Cox, so long the lantern of that church (so artificial for the workmanship thereof[m]) wanted a light to shine therein. Some suspected this place, so long empty, would never be filled again; seeing no bishopric so large in revenues was so little in jurisdiction, not having the small county of Cambridge wholly belonging unto it[n]. Some cunning courtiers, observing this breach in Ely Minster, as fiercely assaulted it, with hope to get gain to themselves. During the vacancy, it was offered to many churchmen, (or chapmen, shall I say?) but

[l] [Heton was much condemned for assenting to the alienation of the lands of his bishopric, and many jests were made on his name Mar-tin. Yet why should blame attach to him, who could be no more than passive in this business? "As for changing or abating "the possessions of it," says sir J. Harrington, "the laws "then in force allowed it, "though a most godly law since "hath restrained the like, and "I would all the bishoprics in "England were but so well "left. Now, to come to Dr. "Eaton, he was compelled in "a sort so to take it; for *po-* "*tentes cum rogant jubent;* "and as long as there was not "*quid dabis*, nor *hoc dabis*, "but *hæc auferam*, the more "public it was, and by autho- "rity then lawful, he may be "thought the more free from "blame. But were Ely as "good as ever it was, it could "not find the mouths bread "that find fault with his taking "it in that order.—As for his "learning and other good parts "belonging to a bishop, he is "inferior to few of his rank, "as your highness (prince "Henry, son of James I.) can "tell, that have heard him "preach before the king; and "the last time I heard him, "the king's majesty said of "him, 'that fat men were wont "to make lean sermons; but "his were not lean, but larded "with much good learning.'" Cat. of Bishops, p. 109.]

[m] Camden's Brit. Cambridgeshire, p. 362.

[n] Part is of the diocese of Norwich.

either their consciences or coffers would not come up to the conditions thereof. Amongst others, Mr. Parker, brought up in Peter House in Cambridge, and archdeacon of Ely, (saith my author [o],) *iniquis conditionibus episcopatum oblatum respuit, tantam opum usuram, nisi salva ecclesia, negligens.* At last (but with the revenues much altered and impaired) it was conferred on Dr. Heton, who, after ten years' possession thereof, died July 14, and seems the more obscure because of the lustre and learning of Dr. Lancelot Andrewes, who immediately succeeded him. The third bishop deceasing this year, Dec. 14, was Thomas Ravis [p], some time dean of Christ Church, and successively bishop of Gloucester and London, born at Maldon in Surrey, of worthy parentage—*claris parentibus*, saith the epitaph on his tomb in St. Paul's, who left the memory of a grave and good man behind him. Nor must it be forgotten, that as he first had his learning in Westminster school, so he always continued, both by his counsel and countenance, a most especial encourager of the studies of all deserving scholars belonging to that foundation. A. D. 1609. 7 James.

29. As archbishop Bancroft was driving on conformity very fiercely throughout all his province, he met with an unexpected rub, which, notwithstanding, Nicholas Fuller engages for his clients.

[o] A manuscript of the bishops of Ely, lent me by Mr. Wright.

[p] [He is much commended by sir John Harrington, who states that this prelate was esteemed so highly, that "he was "requested by them to take "this bishopric, (of London,) "when many that sued to have "it were put by. But as he "was not willing to go thither, "so they of Gloucester were "more unwilling he should go "thence, he won in a short "space so great good liking of "all sorts; insomuch as some "that can scant well brook the "name of a bishop, yet can be "content to give him a good "report." Cat. of Bishops, II. 52.]

A. D. 1609. 7 James. he quickly removed; for about this time, Nicholas Fuller, a bencher of Gray's Inn, eminent in his profession, pleaded so boldly for the enlargement of his clients, that he procured his own confinement;—the case thus: Thomas Lad, a merchant of Yarmouth in Norfolk, was imprisoned a long time by the high commission, and could not be bailed, because (having formerly answered upon his oath twice before the chancellor of Norwich, to certain articles touching a conventicle) he refused to answer upon a new oath, without sight of his former answers [q]. Richard Mansell, a preacher, charged to be a partaker in a petition exhibited to the House of Commons in parliament, and refusing the oath *ex officio* to answer to certain articles to him propounded, was long imprisoned by the commissioners at Lambeth, and could not be bailed.

30. Both prisoners were brought to the bar, upon the writ of *habeas corpus*, where Nicholas Fuller pleaded they ought to be discharged, endeavouring by a large argument (lately printed) to prove that the ecclesiastical commissioners have no power by virtue of their commission to imprison, to put to the oath *ex officio*, or to fine any of his majesty's subjects.

To the loss of his own liberty and life.

Archbishop Bancroft got some legal advantage against Mr. Fuller in the managing thereof, and then let him alone to improve the same. Fuller's

[q] [See a tract entitled, "The "Argument of Master Nicho- "las Fuller in the case of "Thomas Lad and Richard "Mansell, his clients; wherein "it is plainly proved that the "Ecclesiastical Commissioners "have no power by virtue of "their commission to imprison, "to put to the oath *ex officio*, "or to fine any of his majesty's "subjects. Imprinted 1607." 4to.]

friends complained, that only by the colour of right and the rigour of might he was cast into prison. A. D. 1610. 8 James. Here this learned counsellor could give himself no better nor other advice, but only pure patience. Many were his petitions to the king for his enlargement, whom the archbishop had pre-acquainted with the case, representing him to the king as the champion of nonconformists, so that there he lied and died in prison. However, he left behind him the reputation of an honest man, and a plentiful estate to his family, (besides his bountiful benefaction to Emmanuel College and other pious uses,) at this day enjoyed by his grandchild, a gentleman deservedly beloved in his country[r].

31. On the 26th of October began the fifth session of this long-lasting parliament—a session which may be found in the records, though it be lost in our statute-book, because nothing therein was enacted, as soon after dissolved by proclamation. The last session of a long parliament.

32. Gervas Babington, bishop of Worcester, ended his pious life. He was born in Nottinghamshire, of worshipful extraction. Now although lately the chief of the family, abused by papists, (otherwise in himself an accomplished gentleman[s],) had tainted his blood with treason against the queen, the learning, loyalty, and religion of this worthy prelate may serve to rectify the surname, and justly restore that family to its former repute with all posterity. He was bred fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge; first chaplain to Henry earl of Pembroke, whose countess made an exact translation of the Psalms, The death of Gervas Babington.

[r] Master Douse Fuller, of Berkshire, esq.

[s] Anthony Babington, of Dethick in Derbyshire.

A. D. 1610. 8 James. and they first procured him to be preferred treasurer of Llandaff.

His parts and praise.

33. He was soon after made bishop of Llandaff, which in merriment he used to call Aff[t], the land thereof long since being alienated; thence was he translated to Exeter, thence to Worcester, thence to heaven. He was an excellent pulpit-man, happy in raising the affections of his auditory; which, having got up, he would keep up till the close of his sermon: an industrious writer, witness his large comment on the five books of Moses, the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Commandments, with other portions of scripture. Nought else have I to observe of this bishop, save that as a Babington's arms were argent, ten torteauxes, four, three, two, and one gules, the selfsame being the arms of the bishopric of Worcester; his paternal coat being just the same with that of his episcopal see, with which it is impaled.

The death of archbishop Bancroft.

34. The same year expired bishop Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury. He was brought up in Jesus College in Cambridge, preferred by degrees to the bishopric of London[u]. Sir Christopher Hatton was his patron, who made him his examiner. His adversaries character him a greater statesman than divine, a better divine than preacher, though his printed sermon sufficiently attesteth his abilities therein[v]. Being a Cambridge man, he was made chancellor of Oxford, to hold the scales even with Cardinal Pole, an Oxford man, made chancellor of Cambridge.

[t] [See sir J. Harrington's State of the Church, II. p. 173.]

[u] [Bishop of London in 1597; archbishop of Canterbury in 1604.]

[v] [Lately reprinted.]

44. I find two faults charged on his memory, cruelty [x] and covetousness — unepiscopal qualities, seeing a bishop ought to be godly and hospitable. To the first it is confessed he was most stiff and stern to press conformity; and what more usual than for offenders to nickname necessary severity to be cruelty? Now though he was a most stout champion to assert church discipline, let me pass this story to posterity from the mouth of a person therein concerned: An honest and able minister privately protested unto him that it went against his conscience to conform, being then ready to be deprived. "Which way," saith the archbishop, "will "you live if put out of your benefice?" The other answered, he had no way but to go a begging, and to put himself on Divine Providence. "Not that," saith the archbishop, "you shall not need to do; "but come to me, and I will take order for your "maintenance." What impression this made on the minister's judgment, I am not able to report.

A.D. 1611. 9 James. Vindicated from cruelty.

[x] [This charge of cruelty, which is brought by Fuller, is refuted by the most unexceptionable testimony of bp. Hacket, who was not likely to speak partially of Bancroft. Mentioning that prelate's conduct in the high commission court, and comparing it with the severity and rigour exercised by his successor, archbishop Abbot, the writer says: "It was not "so in his predecessor Ban- "croft's days, who would chide "stoutly, but censure mildly. "He considered that he sat "there rather as a father than "a judge. Et pro peccato "magno paululum supplicii "satis esse potest. He knew "that a pastoral staff was made "to reduce a wandering sheep, "not to knock it down."

The other charge of covetousness is sufficiently refuted by our author, did it need any refutation, resting only upon the testimony of Mr. Wilson, a writer of little or no credit, and whose little credit is still more depreciated by the circumstance of his work having been surreptitiously published.]

A.D. 1611. 9 James.

And the aspersion of covetousness.

45. As for his covetousness, a witty writer [y] (but more satirist than historian) of king James his Life reports this pasquin of him:

"Here lies his grace, in cold earth clad,
Who died with want of what he had."

True it is he maintained not the state of officers like predecessor or successor in housekeeping, having a citizen tradesman (more acquainted with thrift than bounty) for his domestical steward; yet was he never observed in his own person to aim at the enriching of his kindred, but had intentions to make pious uses his public heir, bequeathing his library (the confluence of his own collections with his predecessors, Whitgift, Grindal, Parker) to Chelsea College; and if that took not effect, to the public library in Cambridge, where at this day they remain. His clear estate at his death exceeded not six thousand pound, no sum to speak a single man covetous who had sat six years in the see of Canterbury, and somewhat longer in London [z].

[y] Arthur Wilson, Life of James I. p. 53.

[z] [The death of Bancroft was a great affliction to the English church, and the loss of him was felt the more when men contrasted his character with that of his successor. The noble historian, describing the character and promotion of archbishop Abbot, observes, "that he had scarce performed "any part of the office of a "bishop in the diocese of Lon-"don, when he was snatched "from thence and promoted to "Canterbury, upon the never-"enough lamented death of "Dr. Bancroft, that metropo-"litan who understood the "church excellently, and had "almost rescued it out of the "hands of the Calvinian party, "and very much subdued the "unruly spirit of the noncon-"formists, by and after the "conference at Hampton "Court; countenanced men of "the greatest parts in learning, "and disposed the clergy to a "more solid course of study "than they had been accus-

46. It is needless to clean his memory from the aspersion of popery, two eminent acts of his own being his sufficient compurgators: one in setting the secular priests against the Jesuits, (as St. Paul did the Pharisees against the Sadducees,) thereby so deriding their languages as scarce they can understand one another at this day; the other his forwardness in founding Chelsea College, which, as a two-edged sword, was to cut on both sides to suppress papists and sectaries. A. D. 1611. 9 James. Falsely traduced for popish inclinations.

47. One passage more of this prelate, and I have done. A company of young courtiers appeared extraordinarily gallant, at a tilting, far above their A good patron of church revenues.

" tomed to; and if he had " lived, would quickly have " extinguished all that fire in " England which had been " kindled at Geneva; or if he " had been succeeded by bishop " Andrews, bishop Overall, or " any man who understood and " loved the church, that infec- " tion would easily have been " kept out, which could not " afterwards be so easily ex- " pelled." Rebel. I. p. 156.

Francis Osborne also, a writer of a very different stamp, and no friend to the bishops, freely acknowledges the great merits of Abp. Bancroft. Speaking of his general policy and conduct, this writer tells us that the archbishop, " illuminated by so clear " a judgment, made so per- " fect an inspection into the se- " cular practices of the consis- " tory in Rome, as he prevented " many dangers which might " have otherwise fallen upon " the nation. That no priest " was landed any time in Eng- " land, but the bishop had a " perfect character of his tem- " per and relations, the easier " brought about by him that, " in the extinction of the pu- " ritans, owned most of their " tenets, being beside as rigid " persecutor of any who had " not in his composition the " gall of treason mixed with " religion. Yet notwithstand- " ing the incomparable dili- " gence of this prelate, under " two princes, for the preser- " vation of peace and unity, " he was abominated by the " preciser sort, the heat of " whose zeal appears the more " unnatural, because their " mouths were furred with " bitter and unsavoury invec- " tives, which followed him " after the hand of death had " hid him out of the reach of " all other favour but what is " due to his desert from cha- " rity and gratitude." Tradit. Mem. 61.]

A. D. 1611. 9 James. fortunes and estates; these gave for a private motto amongst themselves, *Solvat ecclesia*—"Let the church "pay for all." Bancroft, then bishop of London, arriving at the notice thereof, finds on inquiry that the queen was passing a considerable parcel of church land unto them. The prelate stops the business, with his own and his friends' interest, leaving these gallants to pay the shot of their pride and prodigality out of their own purses. Add to this that I am credibly informed from a good hand, how in the days of king James, a Scotchman and a prevalent courtier had swallowed up the whole bishopric of Durham, had not this archbishop seasonably interposed his power with the king, and dashed the design. George Abbot succeeded Bancroft in Canterbury, of whom largely hereafter.

The new translation of the Bible finished by the command of king James, and care of some chosen divines.

48. And now, after long expectation and great desire, came forth the new translation of the Bible, (most beautifully printed,) by a select and competent number of divines appointed for that purpose—not being too many, lest one should trouble another; and yet many, lest in any things might haply escape them; who, neither coveting praise for expedition, nor fearing reproach for slackness, (seeing in a business of moment none deserve blame for convenient slowness,) had expended almost three years in the work, not only examining the channels by the fountain, translations with the original, which was absolutely necessary, but also comparing channels with channels, which was abundantly useful, in the Spanish, Italian, French, and Dutch languages: so that their industry, skilfulness, piety, and discretion hath therein bound the church unto them in a debt of special remembrance and thankfulness. These, with

a Jacob, *rolled away the stone from the mouth of the well of life* [a]; so that now even Rachel's weak women may freely come, both to drink themselves, and water the flocks of their families at the same. A. D. 1611. 9 James.

49. But day shall sooner lack a night to attend it, and the sunshine be unseconded with the sullen shade, than a glorious action shall want detractors to defame it. The popish Romanists much excepted hereat. "Was their translation," say they, "good "before? why do they now mend it? Was it not "good? why then was it obtruded on the people?" These observe not, that whilst thus in their passion they seek to lash the protestants, their whips fly in the faces of the most learned and pious fathers, especially St. Jerome, who, not content with the former translations of the Septuagints, Aquila, Symachus, and others, did himself translate the Old Testament out of the Hebrew. Yea, their cavil recoils on themselves and their own Vulgar translation, whereof they have so many and different editions [b]. Isidorus Clarius, a famous papist, (first a The causeless cavil of the papists thereat.

[a] Gen. xxix. 10.

[b] "Loca ad octo millia anno- "tata atque emendata a nobis "sunt." Isid. Clarius in Præf. Bibl. Sacrosanct. edit. Venetiis. 1541. But which in the following edition is left out. [This is assuredly a mistake; for the second edition was printed in four volumes folio at Venice, in 1557, in which the passage occurs; though Fuller's mistake has been followed by other writers. De Clario was a native of Brescia, a Benedictine monk, celebrated for his defence of the vulgate version; and it was principally through his means that that version was pronounced authentic by the council of Trent in 1546. He was created by Paul III. bishop of Fuligno in Umbria. His first emended edition of the vulgate Bible, which Le Long dates in 1542, (Biblioth. Sacra, II. p. 219, ed. Masch. 1793,) was put into the Index Expurgatorius, on account of the passage quoted by Fuller; but the sentence was afterwards removed, on condition of the preface and prolegomena being expunged. The preface was, however, reprinted as I have stated.]

A. D. 1611. 9 James. friar, afterward a bishop,) observed and amended, as he said, eight thousand faults in the vulgar Latin. And, since his time, how doth the Paris editions differ from the Louvain, and Hentenius his from them both! how infinite are the differences, many of them weighty and material, of that which pope Clement the Eighth published from another which Sixtus Quintus, his immediate predecessor, set forth! Thus we see, to better and refine translations hath been ever counted a commendable practice, even in our adversaries [c].

They take exceptions at the several senses of words noted in the margin.

50. Besides this, the Romanists take exception, because, in this our new translation, the various senses of words are set in the margin. This they conceive a shaking of the certainty of the scriptures, such variations being as suckers to be pruned off,

[c] [Sixtus the Fifth published his edition of the modern vulgate (for it must be distinguished from the ancient vulgate, of which a new edition was printed, with his approbation prefixed, at Rome in 1588) in 1590; and notwithstanding its numerous errors, it was declared by him to be authentic, and fortified by the authority of the see apostolic. In 1592, however, Clement VIII., dissatisfied with the edition of Sixtus, (which was suppressed by his immediate successor, Gregory XIV.,) published a new and emended edition, varying, of course, considerably from that of 1590. Not completing his task, however, to his own satisfaction, in 1593 he put forth a new edition with various alterations and corrections. Thus there are three authentic Bibles, all fortified with bulls, and all at variance with each other. The variations of the Clementine from the Sixtine edition were exposed by Dr. Thomas James, the Bodleian librarian, in a pamphlet entitled, "Bellum "Papale, sive Concordia dis- "cors Sexti Quinti et Cle- "mentis Octavi, circa Hiero- "nymianam editionem," &c. 1606. 4to. See also, by the same author, "A Treatise of "the Corruption of Scripture, "Councils, and Fathers, by "the Prelates, Pastors, and "Pillars of the Church of "Rome, for maintenance of "Popery and Irreligion." 4to. 1612; and Le Long's "Bib- "liotheca Sacra," by Masch. vol. II. p. 234.]

because they rob the stock of the text of its due credit and reputation: somewhat conformable whereto, pope Sixtus Quintus expressly forbade that any variety of readings of the vulgar edition should be put in the margin. But on serious thoughts it will appear that these translators, affixing the diversity of the meaning of words in the side column, deserve commendations for their modesty and humility therein; for though, as St. Chrysostom observeth [d], *πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δῆλα*, "all things that are necessary to "salvation are plainly set down in the scriptures," yet, seeing there is much difficulty and doubtfulness, not in doctrinal, but in matters of less importance, fearfulness did better beseem the translators than confidence, entering in such cases a caution, where words are of different exceptions. A.D. 1611. 9 James.

51. Some of the brethren were not well pleased with this translation, suspecting it would abate the repute of that of Geneva, with their annotations made by English exiles in that city, in the days of queen Mary, dedicated to queen Elizabeth, and printed with the general liking of the people above thirty times over. Yea, some complained that they could not see into the sense of the scripture for lack of the spectacles of those Geneva annotations; for, although a good translation is an excellent comment on the Bible, wherein much darkness is caused by false rendering of it, and wherein many seeming riddles are read, if the words be but read — expounded, if but truly rendered; yet some short Some brethren complain for lack of the Geneva annotations.

[d] Sixtus Quintus Præf. Bibl. ed. 1590.

[e] On the second Thes. cap. II. Hom. 3, p. 528. ed. Bened. 1734.

[illegible] in the text was much desired of the people. But to say nothing of the defects and [illegible] of the Geneva annotations, (though the best [illegible] which are extant in English,) those notes were framed to that translation alone, that they would fit with any other, and could no way be [illegible] this new edition of the Bible. Leave we these worthy men, now all of them gathered to their fathers and come to God, however they were [illegible] on earth, well rewarded in heaven for their pious pains: from whom, as also of that gracious king that employed them, we may say, "Wheresoever the Bible shall be preached or read in the whole world, there shall also this that they have done be told for a memorial of them."

[illegible] it was about this time some perchance overmuch [illegible] notes, out of that especial love that they bare to the authors and place whence it proceeded. On the other side some without cause did quarrel, rather without charity did slander the same. For this or the next year a doctor in divinity preached in the university of Oxford, published his sermon at St. Mary's, accused them as guilty of misinterpretation touching the divinity of Christ and his Messiahship, as if symbolizing with Arians and Jews against them both; for which he was afterwards suspended by Dr. Robert Abbot, *primarium concionatorem minus orthodoxas, et offensionis plenas*. But more properly hereof (God willing) hereafter, in our particular history of Oxford. We will proceed to report a memorable passage in

[f] [Hanson. See Heylyn's Cert. Epist. p. 175.]

the Low Countries, not fearing to lose my way, or to be censured for a wanderer from the English church story, whilst I have so good a guide as the pen of king James to lead me out and bring me back again. Besides, I am afraid that this alien accident is already brought home to England, and, though only Belgic in the occasion, is too much British in the influence thereof. A.D. 1611. 9 James.

SECT. IV.

TO

EDWARD LLOYD, Esq.

Rivers are not bountiful in giving, but just in restoring their waters unto the sea [b]. *However, they may seem grateful also, because openly returning thither what they secretly received thence. This my Dedication unto you cannot amount to a present, but a restitution, wherein only I tender a public acknowledgment of your private courtesies conferred upon me.*

A. D. 1611. 9 James.

Dangerous opinions broached by Conradus Vorstius.

ING James took into his princely care the seasonable suppression of the dangerous doctrines of Conradus Vorstius. This doctor had lived about fifteen years a minister at Steinfurt, within the territories of the counts of Tecklenburg, Bentheim, &c.; the counts whereof (to observe by the way) were the first in Germany, not in dignity or domi-

[a] [The arms of this gentleman I suppose are the same as those of the Lloyds of Trenewith in Shropshire: viz. gules, a lion rampant, regardant or, ungued and langued, azure. One of the same name and place compiled an unpublished history of Shrewsbury. In his earlier days he had been a barrister and lived in London; but what relation he was to the Lloyd here mentioned, I have not been able to discover. He died in 1715. In a MS. note, it is stated that Fuller's friend was related to the Lloyds of Gale and Denbigh, but their arms differ from those given above. Dr. John Lloyd, the bishop of St. David's, who was a native of Monmouthshire, bore the same arms, and was related, I have no doubt, to the person to whom this century is dedicated. The engraver has followed the cut of the arms given in the first edition.]

[b] Eccles. i. 7.

nion, but in casting off the yoke of papacy, and ever since continuing protestants. This Vorstius had both written and received several letters from certain Samosatenian heretics in Poland, or thereabouts; and it happened that he had handled pitch so long, that at last it stuck to his fingers, and became infected therewith. Hereupon he set forth two books, the one entitled, "Tractatus Theologicus de Deo," dedicated to the landgrave of Hesse; the other, "Exegesis Apologetica," printed in this year, and dedicated to the states: both of them farced with many dangerous positions concerning the Deity. For whereas it hath been the labour of the pious and learned in all ages to mount man to God, as much as might be, by a sacred adoration (which the more humble, the more high) of the divine incomprehensibleness, this wretch did seek to stoop God to man, by debasing His purity, assigning Him a material body, confining His immensity, as not being every where, shaking His immutability, as if His will were subject to change, darkening his omnisciency, as uncertain in future contingents, with many more monstrous opinions, fitter to be remanded to hell than committed to writing. Notwithstanding all this, the said Vorstius was chosen, by the curators of the university of Leyden, to be their public divinity professor, in the place of Arminius, lately deceased; and to that end his excellency and the states-general, by their letters, sent and sued to the count of Tecklenburg, and obtained of him that Vorstius should come from Steinfurt, and become public professor in Leyden. A. D. 1611. 9 James.

2. It happened that his majesty of Great Britain, being this autumn in his hunting progress, did light Reasons moving king James

A.D. 1611. 9 James. to oppose him.

upon and peruse the aforesaid books of Vorstius; and whereas too many do but sport in their most serious employment, he was so serious amidst his sports and recreations, that with sorrow and horror he observed the dangerous positions therein, determining speedily to oppose them, moved thereunto with these principal considerations: first, the glory of God, seeing this anti-St. John, (as his majesty terms him [b],) mounting up to the heavens, belched forth such blasphemies against the divine ineffable essence—and was not a king on earth concerned, when the King of heaven was dethroned from his infiniteness, so far as it lay in the power of the treacherous positions of an heretic? Secondly, charity to his next neighbours and allies; and lastly, a just fear of the like infection within his own dominions, considering their vicinity of situation and frequency of intercourse, many of the English youth travelling over to have their education in Leyden. And indeed, as it hath been observed that the sin of drunkenness was first brought over into England out of the Low Countries [c], about the midst of the reign of queen Elizabeth, (before which time neither general practice nor legal punishment of that vice in this kingdom,) so we must sadly confess that since that time, in a spiritual sense, many English souls have taken a cup too much of Belgic wine, whereby their heads have not only grown dizzy in matters of less moment, but their whole bodies stagger in the fundamentals of their religion.

The states entertain

3. Hereupon king James presently dispatched a

[b] In his Declaration against Vorstius, p. 365.

[c] See Camden's Elizabeth, anno 1581.

letter to sir Ralph Winwood [d], his ambassador resident with the states, willing and requiring him to let them understand how infinitely he should be displeased if such a monster as Vorstius should receive any advancement in their church. This was seconded with a large letter of his majesty's to the states, dated October the sixth [e], to the same effect; but neither found that success which the king did earnestly desire, and might justly expect, considering the many obligations of the crown of England on the states, "the foundation of whose commonwealth," as the ambassador told them [f], "was first cemented "with English blood." Several reasons are assigned of their non-concurrence with the king's motion. The curators of Leyden university conceived it a disparagement to their judgments, if, so near at hand, they could not so well examine the soundness of Vorstius his doctrine as a foreign prince at such a distance; it would cast an aspersion of levity and inconstancy on the states, solemnly to invite a stranger unto them, and then so soon recede from their resolution; an indignity would redound to the count of Tecklenburg, to slight that which so lately they had sued from him. The opposition of Vorstius was endeavoured by a malcontented party amongst themselves, disaffected to the actions of authority, who, distrusting their own strength, had secretly solicited his majesty of Great Britain to appear on their side; that, as king James his motion herein proceeded rather from the instance of others than his own inclination, so they gave out that he began to grow remiss in

A. D. 1611. 9 James. not the motion of king James against Vorstius, according to just expectation.

[d] [This letter is printed in the king's works, p. 350.]

[e] [Printed ibid. p. 354.]

[f] [At the instigation of archbishop Abbot.]

A.D. 1611. 9 James.

the matter, careless of the success thereof; that it would be injurious, yea, destructive to Vorstius and his family, to be fetched from his own home, where he lived with a sufficient salary, (promised better provisions from the landgrave of Hessen, to be divinity professor in his dominions,) now to thrust him out with his wife and children, lately settled at Leyden; that if Vorstius had formerly been faulty in unwary and offensive expressions, he had since cleared himself in a new declaration.

Vorstius gives no satisfaction in his new declaration.

4. For lately he set forth a book, entitled, "A "Christian and modest Answer," which notwithstanding by many was condemned as no revocation, but a repetition of his former opinions, not less pernicious, but more plausible, with sophistical qualifications; so that he was accused to aim neither at the satisfaction of the learned, whom he had formerly offended, nor the safety of the ignorant, whom he might hereafter deceive, but merely his own security for the present. His grand evasion was this: that "what he had wrote before was but "probably propounded, not dogmatically delivered." But, alas! how many silly souls might easily be infected, mistaking his slanting problems for downright positions. In a word, he took not out any venom, but put in more honey into his opinions, which the corruption of man's nature would swallow with more greediness. And how dangerous it is for wit-wanton men to dance with their nice distinctions on such mystical precipices, where slips in jest may cause deadly downfalls in earnest, the Roman orator doth in part pronounce: *Mala est et impia consuetudo, contra Deum disputandi, sive serio id fit, sive simulate.*

5. Now king James, being as little satisfied in judgment with the writings of Vorstius in his own defence, as ill pleased in point of honour with the doings of the States in return to his request, gave instructions to his ambassador to make public protestation against their proceedings; which sir Ralph Winwood, in pursuance of his master's command, most solemnly performed. Nor did his majesty's zeal stop here, with Joash, king of Israel, smiting only but thrice, and then desisting; but after his request, letter, and protestation had missed their desired effect, he wrote in French a declaration against Vorstius [g], — a work well beseeming the defender of the faith, by which title (to use his ambassador's expression) he did more value himself than by the style of king of Great Britain. Once I intended to present the reader with a brief of his majesty's declaration, till deterred with this consideration, that although great masses of lead, tin, and meaner metals, may by the extraction of che-

A. D. 1611. 9 James.

King James setteth forth a Declaration against Vorstius, first written in French; since, by his leave, translated into English, and amongst his other works. [p. 347.]

g [Of this production of the royal author, Thomas Lydiat thus writes to Usher, in a letter of the 22nd of August, 1611: "I have sent you the king's "book in Latin against Vorstius, yet scant dry from the "press; which Mr. Norton, "who hath the matter wholly "in his own hands, swore to "me he would not print unless "he might have money to print "it—a sufficient argument to "make me content with my "manuscript lying still unprinted, unless he equivocated. But see how the "world is changed: time was "when the best book printers "and sellers would have been "glad to be beholding to the "meanest book makers. Now "Mr. Norton, not long since "the meanest of many book "printers and sellers, so talks "and deals as if he would "make the noble king James "(I may well say the best "book maker of this his own "or any kingdom under the "sun) be glad to be beholding "to him." Parr's Letters of Usher, p. 13. The Declaration against Vorstius was published at London in 1612, in Latin, French, and English.]

A. D. 1611. 9 James.

mists be epitomized and abridged into a smaller quantity of silver, yet what is altogether gold already cannot without extraordinary damage be reduced into a smaller proportion. And seeing each word in his majesty's declaration is so pure and precious, that it cannot be lessened without loss, we remit the reader to the same in his majesty's works; and so take our leave of Vorstius for the present, whose books, by the king's command, were publicly burnt at St. Paul's Cross in London, and in both universities [h].

The character of Bartholomew Legate.

6. But, leaving this outlandish, let us come to our English Vorstius, though of far less learning, of more obstinacy and dangerous opinions: I mean that Arian who this year suffered in Smithfield—his

[h] [Upon this Declaration, Heylyn observes, "that when "king James published his "Declaration against Vorstius, "in which there are so many "bitter expressions against Arminius, Bertius, and the rest "of that party, he was much "governed by the counsels of "Dr. James Mountague, who, "having formerly been a great "stickler against Barnet and "Baroe in the stirs at Cambridge, was afterwards made "dean of the Chapel, bishop "of Bath and Wells, and at "last of Winton, the king's "ecclesiastical favourite till the "time of his death, which happened on the 19th of July, "1618. Secondly, that the "reason why king James so "branded the remonstrants in "the Declaration, *that if they* "*were not with speed rooted* "*out, no other issue could be* "*expected than the curse of* "*God in making a perpetual* "*rent and destruction in the* "*whole body of the state,* (p. "39,) was not because they "were so in and of themselves, "but for other reasons, which "our great masters in the "schools of policy called *rea-* "*sons of state.* Now the reason which moved king James "to so much harshness against "the remonstrants, was be-"cause they had put themselves under the patronage "of John Olden Barnevelt, a "man of principal authority "in the commonwealth, whom "the king looked upon as the "professed adversary of the "prince of Orange, his dear "confederate and ally, who on "the other side had made himself the patron and protector "of the rigid Calvinists." Cert. Epist, p. 180.]

name, Bartholomew Legate; native county, Essex; person comely, complexion black, age about forty years; of a bold spirit, confident carriage, fluent tongue, excellently skilled in the scriptures; and well had it been for him if he had known them less or understood them better, whose ignorance abused the word of God, therewith to oppose God the Word; his conversation (for aught I can learn to the contrary) very unblamable; and the poison of heretical doctrine is never more dangerous than when served up in clean cups and washed dishes. A. D. 1611. 9 James.

7. King James caused this Legate often to be brought to him, and seriously dealt with him to endeavour his conversion. One time the king had a design to surprise him into a confession of Christ's deity, (as his majesty afterwards declared to a right reverend prelate [i],) by asking him whether or no he did not daily pray to Jesus Christ; which had he acknowledged, the king would infallibly have inferred that Legate tacitly consented to Christ's divinity, as a searcher of the hearts. But herein his majesty failed of his expectation, Legate returning, "that indeed he had prayed to Christ in the "days of his ignorance, but not for these last seven "years." Hereupon the king in choler spurned at him with his foot: "Away, base fellow!" saith he; "it shall never be said that one stayeth in my "presence that hath never prayed to our Saviour "for seven years together [k]." Discourse betwixt king James and Legate.

8. Often was he convented before the bishops in the consistory of St. Paul's, where he persisted ob- Bishop King gravelleth him with a place of Scripture.

[i] James archbishop of Armagh, from whose mouth I had the relation.

[k] [For an account of the proceedings against Legate, see Somers' Tracts, II. p. 400.]

A. D. 1611. 9 James. stinate in his opinions, flatly denying the authority of that court. And no wonder that he slighted the power of earthly bishops, denying the divinity of Him who is *the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls*[1]. The disputation against him was principally managed by John King, bishop of London, who gravelled and utterly confuted him with that place of scripture, (John xvii. 5,) *And now, O Father, glorify Thou Me with Thine own self, with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was.* This text, I say, was so seasonably alleged, so plainly expounded, so pathetically enforced, by the eloquence and gravity of that bishop, (qualities wherein he excelled,) that it gave marvellous satisfaction to a multitude of people there present, that it is conceived it happily unproselyted some inclinable to his opinions; though Legate himself remained pertinacious, both against the impressions of arguments and scripture, daily multiplying his enormous opinions. It is the happiness nature indulgeth to monsters, that they are all barren; whereas, on the contrary, monstrous positions are most procreative of the like or worse than themselves.

Wholesome caution premised before the naming of Legate's blasphemies.

9. Before we set down his pestilent opinions, may writer and reader fence themselves with prayer to God against the infection thereof; lest otherwise, touching such pitch (though but with the bare mention) defile us, casually tempting a temptation in us, and awaking some corruption which otherwise would sleep silently in our souls. And if, notwithstanding this our caution, any shall reap an accidental evil to themselves by reading his damnable opinions, my pen is no more accessory to their harm, than that

[1] 1 Pet. ii. 25.

apothecary is guilty of murder, if others, out of a lickerish curiosity, kill themselves with that poison which he kept in his shop for sovereign use, to make antidotes thereof. His damnable tenets were as followeth [m]: A. D. 1611. 9 James.

i. "That the creed called the Nicene Creed, and "Athanasius' Creed, contain not a profession of the "true Christian faith.

ii. "That Christ is not God of God begotten, not "made; but begotten, and made.

iii. "That there are no persons in the Godhead.

iv. "That Christ was not God from everlasting, "but began to be God when he took flesh of the "Virgin Mary.

v. "That the world was not made by Christ.

vi. "That the apostles teach Christ to be man "only.

vii. "That there is no generation in God, but of "creatures.

viii. "That this assertion, 'God to be made man,' "is contrary to the rule of faith, and monstrous "blasphemy.

ix. "That Christ was not before the fulness of "time, except by promise.

x. "That Christ was not God, otherwise than an "anointed God.

xi. "That Christ was not in the form of God "equal with God, that is, in substance of God, but "in righteousness, and giving salvation.

xii. "That Christ by his Godhead wrought no "miracle.

xiii. "That Christ is not to be prayed unto."

[m] [Somers' Tracts, II. 400.]

A. D. 1611. 9 James. For maintaining these opinions, Legate had long been in prison in Newgate, yet with liberty allowed him to go abroad; not contented wherewith, he openly boasted, and often threatened to sue the court which committed him for reparations for false imprisonment; so that his own indiscretion in this kind hastened his execution.

Condemned for an obstinate heretic. 10. For hereupon bishop King[n] finally convented him in the consistory of St. Paul's; and that worthy prelate, foreseeing that his proceedings herein would meet with many listening ears, prying eyes, and prating tongues, chose many reverend bishops, able divines, and learned lawyers to assist him: so that the consistory, so replenished for the time being, seemed not so much a large court as a little convocation. By the counsel and consent of these, by his definitive sentence he "pronounced, decreed, and "declared the foresaid Bartholomew Legate an ob-"durate, contumacious, and incorrigible heretic;" and by an instrument called a *significavit* certified the same into the chancery, delivering him up unto the secular power; the church keys, in such cases, craving the help of the civil sword. Whereupon king James, with his letters dated March 11, under the privy seal, gave order to the broad seal to direct the writ *de hæretico comburendo* to the sheriffs of London for the burning of the foresaid Legate.

Quæres left to lawyers to decide. 11. Now, as the bishop herein surrendered Legate to the secular power, my Ecclesiastical History in like manner resigns him to the civil historian, together with all the doubts, difficulties, and legal scruples attending on or resulting from his condemnation. Let the learned in the law consider on

[n] [Bishop of London.]

what statute the writ for his burning was grounded, whether on those old statutes enacted in the reigns of Richard the Second and Henry the Fourth, or on the branch of some other new statute to that effect; let them satisfy us how far those laws were repealed in *primo Elizabethæ*, and how far they still stand in force, as, though not to (pretended) Lollardism, yet to blasphemy; let them examine the judgment of the learned Fitzherbert [o], whether sound in his assertion, "that heretics, before the "writ of their burning be issued out against them, "must first be convicted of heresy before a provin- "cial convocation;" whilst others affirm, that they being convicted before their ordinary sufficeth, provided it be for such opinions which convocations have formerly condemned for heretical. A.D. 1611. 9 James.

12. To Smithfield he was brought to be burned. See here it is neither the pain nor the place, but only the cause makes a martyr. In this very Smithfield how many saints, in the Marian days, suffered for the testimony of Jesus Christ! Whereas now one therein dieth in his own blood for denying him. Vast was the conflux of people about him. Never did a scare-fire at midnight summon more hands to quench it, than this at noon-day did eyes to behold it. At last, refusing all mercy, he was burned to ashes. And so we leave him, the first that for a long time suffered death in that manner; and O that he might be the last to deserve it! Legate burnt in Smithfield.

13. In the next month Edward Wightman, of Burton-upon-Trent, convicted before Richard Neale, Wightman worse than Legate.

[o] De Natura Brevium, f. 269, a. [ed. 1553.]

A. D. 1611. 9 James. bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, was burned at Lichfield for far worse opinions (if worse might be) than Legate maintained. Mary Magdalen, indeed, was once possessed with seven devils; but ten several heresies were laid to Wightman's charge, viz. those of Ebion, Cerinthus, Valentinian, Arius, Macedonius, Simon Magus, Manes, Manichæus, Photinus, and of the anabaptists [p]. Lord! what are we when God leaves us? Did ever man maintain one heresy, and but one heresy? *Chains of darkness* [q], we see, have their links, and errors are complicated together.

The success of this severity.

14. God may seem well pleased with this seasonable severity, for the fire thus kindled quickly went out for want of fuel: I mean there was none ever after that openly avowed these heretical doctrines, only a Spanish Arian, who, condemned to die, was notwithstanding suffered to linger out his life in Newgate, where he ended the same. Indeed, such burning of heretics much startled common people, pitying all in pain, and prone to asperse justice itself with cruelty, because of the novelty and hideousness of the punishment; and the purblind eyes of vulgar judgments looked only on what was next to them, the suffering itself, which they beheld with compassion, not minding the demerit of the guilt which deserved the same. Besides, such being unable to distinguish betwixt constancy and obstinacy, were ready to entertain good thoughts even of the opinions of those heretics, who sealed them so manfully with

[p] So reckoned up in the warrant for his burning. [See Somers' Tracts, II. 403.]

[q] Jude 6.

their blood. Wherefore king James politicly preferred, that heretics hereafter, though condemned, should silently and privately waste themselves away in the prison, rather than to grace them and amuse others with the solemnity of a public execution, which in popular judgments usurped the honour of a persecution. A. D. 1611. 9 James.

15. I find no eminent divine or scholar deceased in this year; only one, whose bounty made many of both kinds, ended his life, namely, Richard Sutton, the Phœnix of our age, and sole founder of Charter House Hospital, esq., born of genteel parentage at Knaith in Lincolnshire: in his youth bred a soldier, gaining both wealth and credit by his valour, but afterwards embracing a more peaceable profession of a merchant. This his foundation he called the hospital of king James, all discreet subjects having learned this lesson from politic Joab calling Rabbah after the name of king David[r], to entitle their sovereign to the honour of their achievements which are of extraordinary proportion. Children not yet come to, and old men already past, helping of themselves, have in this hospital their souls and bodies provided for. The latter must be decayed gentlemen, the most proper objects of charity, as whose ingenious spirits are most sensible of want, and most unable to provide for themselves. The death of master Sutton, founder of that famous hospital.

16. It is utterly improbable that it will ever come within the compass of my power to found any place for pious uses; all wherein my weak ability can express its forwardness, is to honour the charity of others, and for the present alphabetically The several manors belonging thereunto.

[r] 2 Sam. xii. 28.

A. D. 1611. 9 James. to methodize the manors which master Sutton in several counties settled for the maintenance of this his hospital:

i. Balsham Manor, in Cambridgeshire.
ii. Bassingthorpe Manor, in Lincolnshire.
iii. Black Grove Manor, in Wiltshire.
iv. Broad Hinton Land, in Wiltshire.
v. Castle Camp Manor, in Cambridgeshire.
vi. Chilton Manor, in Wiltshire.
vii. Dunsby Manor, in Lincolnshire.
viii. Elcombe Manor and Park, in Wiltshire.
ix. Hackney Land, Middlesex.
x. Hallingbury-Bouchers Manor, in Essex.
xi. Missinden Manor, in Wiltshire.
xii. Much Stanbridge Manor, in Essex.
xiii. Norton Manor, in Essex.
xiv. Salthorpe Manor, in Wiltshire.
xv. South Minster Manor, in Essex.
xvi. Tottenham Land, in Middlesex.
xvii. Ufford Manor, in Wiltshire.
xviii. Watelescote Manor, in Wiltshire.
xix. Westcot Manor, in Wiltshire.
xx. Wroughton Manor, in Wiltshire.

See here the most liberal endowment made by one man. May it most truly be said of our London merchants, as of those of Tyre, *whose merchants are princes* [8].

The Jesuits carping at his good work.

17. But no work so virtuous, which some malicious spirits will not endeavour to disgrace. One who writeth himself J. H., but generally conceived to be Mr. Knott, the Jesuit, in his answer to Dr.

[8] Isa. xxiii. 8.

Potter's book of "Charity Mistaken[t]," lets fly as followeth: A.D. 1611. 9 James.

"Do your hospitals deserve so much as to be "named? Have you any thing of that kind in "effect of particular note, saving the few mean "nurseries of idle beggars and debauched people? "Except, perhaps, Sutton's hospital, which (as I "have been informed) was to take no profit till he "was dead—he who (as I have also understood) "died so without any children, or brothers or sis- "ters, or known kindred, as that (peradventure) it "might have escheated to the king—he who lived "a wretched and penurious life, and drew that mass "of wealth together by usury; in which case, ac- "cording to good conscience, his estate, without "asking him leave, was by the law of God obnoxious "to restitution, and ought to have been applied to "pious uses. Whereas anciently in this country, "and at all times, and specially in this last age, "men see abundance of heroical actions of this kind "performed in foreign parts. And if it were not "for fear of noting many other great cities, as if "there were any want of most munificent hospitals "in them, wherein they abound, I could tell you of "one called the Annunciata, in the city of Naples, "which spends three hundred thousand crowns per "annum, which comes to above fourscore thousand "pounds sterling by the year; which ever feeds and "cures a thousand sick persons, and pays for the "nursing and entertaining of three thousand sucking "children of poor people, and hath fourteen other "distinct hospitals under it, where the persons of

[t] 2 part 1, ch. 2, parag.

A. D. 1611. James 9. "those poor creatures are kept, and where they are "defrayed of all their necessary charges every week. "I could also tell you of an hospital in Rome, "called St. Spirito, of huge revenues; but it is not "my meaning to enter into particulars, which would "prove endless."

His politic modesty in his corrective.

18. Before we come to the particular examination of this his accusation, it is observable how many qualificatives, correctives, and restrictives ("perhaps," "as I have been informed," "as I have also under-"stood," "peradventure") he inserteth in this his relation. Indeed such qualifications are better than equivocations; yet what some may impute to modesty is his policy, if well considered; for if any protestant confute what he hath written, this accuser will take sanctuary under the protection of those restrictions, defending himself that he delivered nothing positively; whilst ignorant papists of his own profession, not heeding his doubting limitations, swallow all down for dogmatical truth.

Answers to Jesuits' cavils.

19. More particularly the reformed religion in England hath been the mother of many brave foundations, many famous hospitals: as that at Warwick, built by the earl of Leicester; Croydon, by archbishop Whitgift; Guildford, by archbishop Abbot—not to speak of Christ Church and St. Thomas's Hospital, built by king Edward the Sixth; though none of them have thrived and battled so fast and so fairly as this of Sutton's foundation. Whereas he chargeth him to have had no children, it is confessed, seeing he died a bachelor; whose life, had he been of their opinion, had been cried up for a precious piece of virginity. That he had no known

kindred, is false; some of them afterwards, but in vain, endeavouring to overthrow his will; though he made the poor to be his mother, and sister, and brother. As for his getting wealth by unlawful ways, I am not to justify the particular circumstances of any man's actions. Should a secret scrutiny be made, how all founders of monasteries first came by their wealth, many would be found justly obnoxious to censure. A. D. 1611. 9 James.

20. Indeed our Sutton began with a good stock, had no charge to burden him, lived to be very aged, (seventy-nine years,) and, by God's blessing on his providence, industry, and thrift, advanced the main of his estate. This I can confidently report from the mouth of a credible witness, who heard it himself, and told it to me, that master Sutton used often to repair into a private garden, where he poured forth his prayers to God, and, amongst other passages, was frequently overheard to use this expression: "Lord, thou hast given me a large and "liberal estate; give me also a heart to make use "thereof!" which at last was granted to him accordingly. Mr. Sutton's constant prayer.

21. As for the overgrown hospital of the Annunciata at Naples, we envy not the wealth thereof, though reports at such distance lose nothing in the relation; nor do we wonder that it cureth yearly a thousand sick persons, considering what disease first came from Naples, and was thence denominated. As for the three thousand children nursed therein, it is to be feared many wanted fathers to own them; and this not so much the fruit of charity as of wantonness. However, that hospital hath at several times been advanced by a college of benefactors; Sutton's hospital, how exceeding the Annunciata.

A. D. 1611. 9 James. whereas Sutton's may stand peerless in this respect, that it was founded, finished, and endowed by himself alone, disbursing 13000*l.* [u] (paid down before the ensealing of the conveyance) for the ground whereon it stood, with some other appurtenances, besides 6000*l.* expended in the building thereof, and that vast yearly endowment, whereof heretofore. We mention not the large sums bequeathed by him to poor, to prisons, to colleges, to mending highways, to the chamber of London, besides twenty thousand pounds left to the discretion of his executors. What remaineth but that we pray that according to his pious intentions the same may be continued to the glory of God, credit of the protestant religion, comfort to the poor, good example to the rich, and perpetual memory of king James the honorary, and Mr. Sutton the effectual, founder thereof—that this sun amongst the lesser lights of protestant charities may shine on earth as long as the sun (that faithful witness) endureth in heaven? being more confident that my desire herein will take effect, considering the honourable governors of this hospital are persons so good they will not abuse it themselves, and so great they will not suffer it to be abused by others.

The death and prayer of prince Henry.

22. England, at this time enjoying abundance of peace, plenty, and prosperity, in full speed of her happiness, was checked on a sudden with the sad news of the death of prince Henry, in the rage of a malicious extraordinary burning fever. He was generally lamented of the whole land, both universities publishing their verses in print; and give me leave to remember four made by Giles Fletcher, of

[u] Stow's Survey of London, p. 478.

Trinity College in Cambridge, on this prince's plain grave, because wanting an inscription; and it will be honour enough to me if I can make thereof a translation: A.D. 1611. 9 James.

Si sapis, attonitus sacro decede sepulchro,
Nec cineri quæ sunt nomina, quære novo,
Prudens celavit sculptor, nam quisque rescivit,
Protinus in lachrymas solvitur, et moritur.

"If wise, amaz'd depart this holy grave,
Nor these new ashes ask what names they have;
The graver in concealing them was wise,
For whoso knows straight melts in tears and dies."

Give me leave to add one more, untranslatable for its elegancy and expressiveness [x]:

Ulteriora timens cum morte paciscitur orbis [y].

And thus we take our leave of the memory of so worthy a prince, never heard by any alive to swear an oath, for which archbishop Abbot commended him in his funeral sermon; the prince being wont to say, "that he knew no game or value to be won or "lost that could be worth an oath."

23. *One generation goeth and another generation cometh, but the earth remaineth for ever.* The stage stands, the actors alter. Prince Henry's funerals are followed with the prince Palatine's nuptials, solemnized with great state, in hopes of happiness to both persons, though sad in the event thereof, and occasioning great revolutions in Christendom. The marriage of the Palatine.

24. Expect not of me an account of the divorce Essex his divorce discussed.

[x] Made by Mr. George Herbert.

[y] [Neither of these epigrams is found in the Epicedia of either university, printed in 1612.]

A. D. 1611. 9 James. of the lady Frances Howard from the earl of Essex, and of her re-marriage to Robert Carr, earl of Somerset; which divorce divided the bishops of the land in their judgments [z]:

Against it.	*For it.*
George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury.	Thomas Bilson, bishop of Winchester.
John King, bishop of London.	Lancelot Andrews, bishop of Ely.
Alleging the common fame of incontinency betwixt her and the earl of Somerset.	Richard Neale, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.
	These proceeded, *secundum allegata et probata*, of the earl's inability, *quoad hanc*, and the lady's untainted virginity.

A memorable speech of bishop King.

25. Only I will insert one passage: bishop Overall, discoursing with bishop King about the divorce, the latter expressed himself to this effect: "I should "never have been so earnest against the divorce, "save that because persuaded in my conscience of "falsehood in some of the depositions of the wit-

[z] [Wilson's Hist. of James, I. p. 69.]

[a] [Most of our historians have borrowed their account of this divorce from a pamphlet published in the time of the commonwealth, entitled, "Truth "brought to Light; or, the "History of the first fourteen "Years of King James I." The work is undoubtedly the production of a presbyterian, (probably Osborne or Weldon,) and of one very unfavourable to the memory of king James, whom the writer throughout endeavours to represent in a mean and degrading light. Knowing how many inducements were offered in the time of the great rebellion to malign royalty, and the dishonest artifices resorted to for this purpose, it would be very desirable that the credit of this pamphlet should be carefully examined before its assertions be unscrupulously accepted and relied on, as they have been by Hallam and others.]

[b] Anne countess of Bedford.

" nesses on the lady's behalf." This sure I am, from her second marriage is extracted as chaste and virtuous a lady as any of the English nation. A. D. 1613. 10 James.

29. Nicholas Wadham, esq., of Merefield in the county of Somerset, did by his last will bequeath four hundred pounds per annum, and six thousand pounds in money, to the building of a college in Oxford, leaving the care and trust of the whole to Dorothy his wife—one of no less learned and liberal than noble extraction, a sister to John lord Petre, and daughter to sir William Petres, secretary to four kings, and a worthy benefactor to All Souls College. In her lifetime she added almost double to what her husband bequeathed, whereby at this day it is become one of the most uniform buildings in England, as no additional result at several times of sundry fancies and founders, but the entire product all at once of the same architect [c]. Wadham college founded.

30. This year the same was finished, built in a place where formerly stood a monastery of the Augustine friars, who were so eminent for their abilities in disputing, that the university did by a particular statute impose it as an exercise upon all those that were to proceed masters of art, that they should first be disputed upon by the Augustine friars; which old statute is still in force, produced at this day for an equivalent exercise, yet styled " Answer- " ing Augustines." The college hath from its beginning still retained something of its old genius, having been continually eminent for some that were acute philosophers and good disputants:— Where formerly a monastery of Augustines.

[c] [See Wood's History of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford, I. p. 591, ed. 1786.]

A. D. 1613. 10 James.

Wardens.	*Bishops.*	*Benefactors.*	*Learned Writers.*
Dr. [Robert] Wright, admitted 1613. Dr. [John] Flemming, admitted 1613. Dr. [William] Smith, 1617. Dr. [Daniel] Escott, 1635. Dr. [John] Pitt, 1644. Dr. John Wilkins, 1648.	Robert Wright, bishop of Bristol, then Coventry and Lichfield. [Formerly warden.]	Philip Bisse, doctor of divinity, canon of Wells, and archdeacon of Taunton, gave 1849 books for their library, valued at 12000*l.*[d]	[Dr. John Gauden.] Humphrey Sydenham, a very eloquent preacher.

So that very lately[e] there were in this college one warden, fifteen fellows, fifteen scholars, two chaplains, two clerks, besides officers and servants of the foundation, with many other students—the whole number, one hundred and twenty. As for Dr. John Wilkins[f], the present warden thereof, my worthily respected friend, he hath courteously furnished me with my best intelligence from that university.

A parliament suddenly called, soon dissolved.

31. A parliament was called, wherein many things were transacted, nothing concluded. In this parliament Dr. Harsnet, bishop of Chichester, gave offence in a sermon preached at court, pressing the word *reddite Cæsari quæ sunt Cæsaris*, as if all that was levied by subsidies, or paid by custom to the crown, was but a *redditum* of what was the king's before. Likewise Dr. Neale, bishop of Rochester, uttered

[d] ["Two thousand books, "valued at 1700*l.*" Wood, ib. 601.]

[e] Viz. anno 1634.

[f] [He resigned the headship of this college, Sept. 3, 1659, and was made master of Trinity College in Cambridge. After the Restoration he became dean of Ripon, and soon after bishop of Chester. He died in the house of Dr. Tillotson, his son-in-law, in 1672, and was buried in the church of St. Lawrence Jewry, where he had been formerly a minister. See Wood, ib. 596, and in the Ath. II. 505.

words in the house of the lords interpreted to the disparagement of some reputed zealous patriot in the house of commons. Both these bishops were questioned upon it; and to save them from the storm, this was the occasion chiefly, as was supposed, of the abrupt breaking up of the parliament. A. D. 1614. 12 James.

32. Anthony Rudde, bishop of St. David's, ended his life. He was born in Yorkshire, bred in Trinity College in Cambridge, where he became fellow; a most excellent preacher, whose sermons were very acceptable to queen Elizabeth. Hereon dependeth a memorable story, which, because but defectively delivered by sir John Harrington[s], I request the reader's patience, and require his belief, to this large and true relation thereof: The death of bishop Rudde.

33. Bishop Rudde, preaching in his course before queen Elizabeth at Whitehall, her majesty was highly affected with his sermon, insomuch that she commanded archbishop Whitgift to signify unto him that he should be his successor in case the archbishopric ever fell in the queen's disposal. A remarkable passage.

34. Not long after, the archbishop, meeting bishop Rudde, "Brother," said he, "I bring good tidings to "you, though bad to myself, for they cannot take "full effect till after my death: her grace is so "pleased with your last sermon, she enjoined me "to signify to you her pleasure that you shall be my "successor in Canterbury if surviving me." The bishop modestly declined his words, desiring the long life of his grace, and, in case of his advancement to heaven, confessed many other in England far fitter for the place than his own unworthiness; The bishop, by plain preaching, gains the queen's favour.

[s] [State of the Church, II. 214.]

A. D. 1614. 12 James.

adding, after some other exchange of words, "Good "my lord, might I be my own judge, I conceive I "have preached better sermons at court, surely such "as cost me more time and pains in composing "them." "I tell you," replied the archbishop, "the "truth is this: the queen now is grown weary of "the vanities of wit and eloquence, wherewith her "youth was formerly affected; and plain sermons, "which come home to her heart, please her the "best." Surely his grace was too mortified a man (though none naturally love their successors whilst themselves are alive) intentionally to lay a train to blow up this archbishop-designed, though by the other's unadvised practice of his words it proved so in the event.

And, by too personal preaching, loseth it again.

35. For, next time when it came to the bishop's course to preach at court, then lying at Richmond, (anno 1596,) he took for his text Psalm xc. 12, *O teach us to number our days, that we may incline our hearts unto wisdom;* and in the close of his sermon touched on the infirmities of age, (Eccles. xii. 3,) *when the grinders shall be few in number, and they wax dark that look out at the windows;* personally applying it to the queen, how age had furrowed her face, and besprinkled her hair with its meal. Whereat her majesty (to whom *ingratissimum acroama* to hear of death) was highly displeased. Thus he not only lost his reversion of the archbishopric of Canterbury, (which, indeed, never fell in the queen's days,) but also the present possession of her majesty's favour [h].

[h] [Harrington has given a more detailed account of this sermon, though I doubt much of its authenticity. Commenting upon the passage, "and "they wax dark that look out "of the windows," he observes in his jesting vein: "The

36. Yet he justly retained the repute of a reverend and godly prelate, and carried the same to the grave. He wrought much on the Welsh by his wisdom, and won their affections; and by moderate thrift, and long staying in the same see, left to his son (sir Rise Rudde, baronet) a fair estate at Aberglaseny in Carmarthenshire [i]. A. D. 1614. 12 James. Yet died generally beloved and lamented.

37. Some three years since, (on the death of king Henry the Fourth,) Isaac Casaubon, that learned Casaubon invited into England.

" queen (as the manner was) " opened the window, (the royal " closet had windows,) but she " was so far from giving him " thanks or great countenance, " that she said plainly, he " should have kept his arith- " metic for himself. 'But I " see,' said she, 'the greatest " clerks are not the wisest " men,' and so went away for " the time discontented." State of the Church, II. 217. The bishop had alluded to the mystical numbers in the scriptures, and so to the queen's age, and in summing up his sermon thus expressed himself; " Let me now " come to the most reverend age " of my most dear and dread " sovereign, who hath, I doubt " not, learned to number her " years, that she may apply " her heart unto wisdom. And " therefore I conceive in mind " that in her soliloquia or pri- " vate meditacions, she frameth " her speech in this wise," &c. Part of this soliloquy, which he then describes at some length, and by no means in terms very flattering to one who was ambitious to be thought " ever fair and young," runs thus: " Lord, I have now put " foot within the doors of that " age in the which the almond " tree flourisheth, wherein men " begin to carry a callander in " their bones, the senses begin " to fail, the strength to dimi- " nish, yea, all the power of " the body daily to decay," &c. But I do not find in the sermon the passage from Ecclesiastes which is quoted by Fuller; and, indeed, I very much doubt the correctness of the other part of his anecdote. The concluding part of the sermon above quoted is in a MS. of sir H. Yelverton's Coll. in All-Souls' coll. Oxf. f. 113. b.]

[i] [In a MS. journal, preserved among the Harleian MSS., I find another instance of this prelate's straightforwardness. " Dr. Rudd," says the writer, " made a sermon " before the queen on the text, " *I say ye are gods, but you* " *shall all die like men;* where- " in he made such a discourse " of death, that her majesty, " when his sermon was ended, " said unto him: 'Mr. Doctor, " you have made me a good " funeral sermon, I may die " when I will.' Feb. 1602."]

A. D. 1614. 12 James. critic, was fetched out of France by king James, and preferred prebendary of Canterbury. Thus desert will never be a drug, but be vented at a good rate in one country or another, as long as the world affordeth any truly to value it. King Henry is not dead to Casaubon, as long as king James is alive. He who formerly flourished under the bays now thriveth altogether as well under the olive. Nor is Casaubon sensible that England is the colder climate, whilst he finds the beams of his majesty so bright and warm unto him, to whom also the lesser lights of prelates and peers contributed their assistance [k].

Where he dieth and is buried.

38. Presently he falls a-writing, as natural, and almost as necessary, as breathing unto him; first, to Fronto Ducæus, his learned friend; then to cardinal Perron, in the just vindication of our English church [l]. After these, he began his Exercitations on Baronius his Ecclesiastical Annals, which more truly may be termed the Annals of the Church of Rome. But, alas! death here stopped him in his full speed, and he lieth entombed in the south aisle of Westminster

[k] [See Casaubon's Life prefixed to his epistles, ed. 1709. Rotterod., and Birch's Hist. View, p. 322. Besides the prebendary of Canterbury, the king granted him a pension of 300*l.* a year, and Bancroft, the archbishop, sent him 30*l.* towards defraying the expenses of his journey. But he, or rather his wife, seems to have been dissatisfied with the treatment he met with in England; and apprehensions were entertained that he meditated changing his religion. See sir D. Carleton's letter, in Birch, ib. 340. Many of his unpublished letters are still preserved in the British Museum; but of all his compositions in this kind, the most important and interesting is his letter to Fronto Ducæus mentioned in the text, which is a masterly exposure of the dangerous principles and writings of the Jesuits, written in such Latinity as Casaubon only could write.]

[l] [Both these letters were printed at London in the same years in which they were written. The former dated from London, 1st July, 1611, the other from the same place, 9th Nov. 1612. They are printed among his letters.]

Abbey; not on the east or poetical side thereof, (where Chaucer, Spenser, Drayton, are interred,) but on the west or historical side of the aisle, next the monument of Mr. Camden; both whose plain tombs, made of white marble, shew the simplicity of their intentions, the candidness of their natures, and perpetuity of their memories. Mr. Casaubon's was erected at the cost of Thomas Morton, bishop of Durham, that great lover of learned men, dead or alive [m]. A.D. 1614. 12 James.

39. The king comes to Cambridge in a sharp winter, when all the world was nothing but air and snow; yet the scholars' wits did not freeze with the weather, witness the pleasant play of Ignoramus, which they presented to his majesty. Yet, whilst many laughed aloud at the mirth thereof, some of the graver sort were sad to see the common lawyers made ridiculous therein. If gowns begin once to abase gowns, cloaks will carry away all; besides, of all wood, the pleaders' bar is the worst to make a stage of; for, once in an age, all professions must be beholding to their patronage. Some conceive [n] The supposed occasion of Mr. Selden's writing against the divine right of tithes.

[m] [Bishop Morton, then dean of Winchester, became acquainted with Casaubon at the house of Dr. Overall, then dean of St. Paul's, about the year 1610, for Casaubon, "being "then newly come out of France, "was likewise (as his great "merits required) very freely "and hospitably entertained "and lodged there by the said "dean. And this love, thus "begun between these two "learned persons, was never "intermitted in their lives, nor "obliterated by death, as appears by the monument set "up in the Abbey Church of "St. Peter's, at Westminster, "for Mons. Casaubon, (he "being buried there,) at the "charge of this reverend bishop. The inscription where-"of was composed by that excellent poet and scholar, Dr. "Thomas Goad, rector of Hadley in Suffolk." Barwick's L. of Mort. p. 73.]

[n] [Thomas Ball,] author of Dr. Preston's Life, [printed in Clarke's Martyrology.]

A. D. 1614. 12 James. that in revenge master John Selden soon after set forth his Books of Tithes, wherein he historically proveth that they were payable *jure humano*, and not otherwise [o].

Many write in answer to his book.

40. I cannot suspect so high a soul guilty of so low reflections, that his book related at all to this occasion, but only that the latitude of his mind, tracing all paths of learning, did casually light on the road of this subject. His book is divided into two parts, whereof the first is a mere Jew, of the practice of tithing amongst the Hebrews; the second a Christian, (and chiefly an Englishman,) of their customs in the same. And although many divines undertook the answer of this book, (as Mr. Stephen Nettles, fellow of Queen's College in Cambridge, applying himself to the Judaical part, Dr. Tillesly and Mr. Montague—all writing sharply, if strongly enough,) yet sure it is, never a fiercer storm fell on all parsonage barns since the Reformation than what this treatise raised up.

Melvin freed from the tower.

41. By this time Mr. Andrew Melvin, a Scotchman, got to be enlarged out of the tower, whither he had been committed for writing some satirical verses against the ornaments on the altar (or communion table) in the king's chapel. When first brought into the tower, he found sir William Sey-

[o] [Various replies were made to this treatise besides those mentioned in the text. Of Selden it is very true what is asserted by Dr. Marshall: "When Mr. Selden was at "any time pressed with ap- "parent fact and history, it "was always his custom to "run his reader into the dark, "and then to leave him to shift "for himself; or else to catch "at innuendos and conjectures, "which he was ever ready to "furnish, at the expence of "all probability, so he might "disserve the church which "he mortally hated." Penitential Discipline, p. 24.]

mour (now the right honourable, most truly noble, and religious marquis of Hertford) there imprisoned for marrying the lady Arabella, so nearly allied to the crown, without the king's consent. To whom Melvin, being an excellent poet, (but inferior to Buchanan his master,) sent this distich: A. D. 1614. 12 James.

Causa mihi tecum communis carceris, ARA
Regia, BELLA tibi, regia sacra mihi [p].

As for his invective verses against the chapel ornaments, I conceive the following copy most authentic, though there be various lections of them, but all in the main agreeing together:

Quod duo stent libri clausi Anglis regia in ara,
Lumina cæca duo, pollubra sicca duo.
An clausum cæcumque Dei tenet Anglia cultum
Lumine cæca suo, sorde sepulta sua?
Romano et ritu dum regalem instruit aram,
Purpuream pingit [q] *luxuriosa lupam.*

42. Mr. George Herbert, of Trinity college in Cambridge, made a most ingenious retortion of this hexastic, which as yet all my industry cannot recover[r]. Yet it much contenteth me, that I am certainly informed, that the posthume remains (shavings of gold are carefully to be kept) of that not less pious than witty writer are shortly to be put forth into print[s], with this his *Anti—pelvi—Melvi.*

[p] [These lines are also quoted by sir Dudley Carleton, in a letter to sir R. Winwood, dated July 25, 1610, at the time of the occurrence. His copy follows, and has more point:

Communis tecum mihi causa est carceris ARA
BELLA tibi causa est, ARAque sacra mihi.]

[p] Alias *religiosa.*

[q] [Nor is it found in the new edition of his works.]

[r] [In 1662. See an account of this publication in the new edition of Herbert's poems in 1835; in which these epigrams are reprinted.]

45. Marcus Antonius de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato, came over into England, was here courteously welcomed and plentifully preferred, of whose hypocrisy and ingratitude largely hereafter[x]. A. D. 1615. 13 James. Archbishop of Spalato.

46. King James went into Scotland to visit his native country, with a princely train. In his passage thither he was much affected with a sermon which one of his chaplains preached upon this text, *And Abraham was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold. And he went on his journeys from the south even to Beth-el, to the place where his tent had been at the beginning*[y]. As for his entertainment in Scotland, we leave it to their historians to relate. For may my pen be plundered by the borderers or moss-troopers, if offering to cross Tweed into another country. The king goes into Scotland.

47. This year died doctor William James, born in Cheshire, master first of the University college, then dean of Christ Church in Oxford, chaplain to Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester[z], and confessor to him at his death, and at last made bishop of Durham. The death of bishop James.

" vero etiam fuisse tentatum " in conventiculo quodam Lon- " dinensi, memini narrare mihi " qui interfuit Richardum Che- " nium, miserrimum senem." Decem Rationes, p. 90.]

x Viz. anno 1622.

y Gen. xiii. 2, 3.

z ["Who," as Harrington justly observes, "though he " made no great conscience to " spoil the church-livings no " more than did his father, yet " for his reputation, or perhaps " his recreation, he would have " some choice and excellent " men for his chaplains of both " universities; as Dr. Toby " Matthew, now archbishop of " York; Dr. John Still, bishop " of Bath and Wells; and this " prelate, that I am now to " speak of, Dr. James, then " dean of Christ-Church. And " this hope of comfort came to " his lordship thereby, that if " it pleased God to impart any " mercy to him, (as his mercy " endureth for ever,) it was by " the special ministry of this " man, who was the best of " his coat that was with him " in his sickness." State of the Church, II. 268.]

A. D. 1616. 13 James. He expended much on the repairing of the chapel of Durham House in the Strand[a], and in his younger days was much commended for his hospitality.

Bishop Robinson and bishop Bennet.

48. Two other prime prelates accompanied him to the other world, Dr. Henry Robinson, provost of Queen's college in Oxford, bishop of Carlisle, of great temperance, mild in speech, but weak in constitution[b]. The other, Robert Bennet, fellow of Trinity college in Cambridge, chaplain to the lord Burleigh, termed by a great divine *eruditus benedictus*, bishop of Hereford, well deserving of his see, whose houses he repaired[c].

Dr. Mocket's translation of our English Liturgy.

49. Doctor Mocket, warden of All Souls in Oxford, chaplain to George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, set forth a book in pure Latin, containing the Apology of the Church of England; the greater and lesser Catechism; the Nine and Thirty Articles; the Common Prayer; the Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; the Polity, or Government of the Church of England. As for the Homilies, too tedious to be translated at large, he epitomised them into certain propositions, by him faithfully extracted.

Cavilled at by many.

50. No sooner appeared this book in print, but many faults were found therein. Indeed it fared the worse for the author, the author for his patron the archbishop, against whom many bishops began

[a] [This house was granted to queen Elizabeth, in whose time it was neglected, and the chapel not only profaned, but defaced. "This good bishop," saith Harrington very prettily, "the first thing he doth at his "coming, repairs this chapel, "and furnisheth it within in "comely and costly sort; for "which good timed fact, I "doubt not but God will build "him a house, toward which "he shall ever have my best "wishes." Ib. 271.]

[b] [See Harrington, ib. 272.]

[c] [See Harrington, ib. 185.]

then to combine. Some accused him of presumption for undertaking such a task without commission[d] from the king, it being almost as fatal for private persons to tamper with such public matters, as for a subject to match into the blood royal without leave of his sovereign. Others complained, that he enlarged the liberty of a translator into the license of a commentator, and the propositions out of the Homilies by him collected were made to lean to the judgment of the collector. James Montague, bishop of Winchester, a potent courtier, took exceptions that his bishoprick in the marshalling of them was wronged in the method, as put after any whose bishop is a privy counsellor[e]. A. D. 1617. 15 James.

50. But the main matter objected against it was, that this doctor was a better chaplain than a subject, contracting the power of his prince to enlarge the privilege of his patron, allowing the archbishop of Canterbury's power to confirm the election of bishops in his provinces, citing[f] for the same the sixth canon of the first Nicene council established by imperial authority: "If any be made a bishop without the "consent of his metropolitan, he ought not to be a "bishop." The pinching accusation.

51. This was counted an high offence to attribute an obliging authority either to canon or civil law, both which, if crossing the common law of the land, are drowned in their passage as they sail over from from Calais to Dover; and king James, justly jealous of his own prerogative, approved not such a confirming power in the archbishop, which might imply a Imperial decrees command not in England.

[d] Yet *cum privilegio* is prefixed on the first page.

[e] In the Politia Ecclesiæ Angl. p. 314.

[f] Ibid. p. 309.[=31 of the reprint. London, 1683.]

A. D. 1617. 15 James. negative voice in case he disliked such elects as the king should recommend unto him[g].

On the burning of his book Dr. Mocket dieth.

52. Hereupon doctor Mocket his book was censured to be burned, which was done accordingly. Now although the imperfections and indiscretions of this translator might be consumed as dross in the fire, yet the undoubted truth of the Articles of the English church therein contained as flame-free and perfectly refined will endure to all eternity. The doctor took this censure so tenderly, especially so much defeated in his expectation, to find punishment where he looked for preferment, as if his life were bound up by sympathy in his book, he ended his days soon after[h].

[g] [Nor was this the only offence. He attributed the fast-days, appointed by the church of England, to mere political motives; *ob politicas solum rationes;* in direct variance to the doctrine of the church of England, observing certain fast-days in conformity with apostolical and primitive times. (See the Constitutions of 1604.) See Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 76.]

[h] [This book is exceedingly rare; the latter part of it, "De "Politia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ," was reprinted in 1683, 8vo., together with two tracts of Dr. Zouch, entitled, "De- "scriptio Juris," &c. In the preface to this reprint some account is given of Dr. Mocket's book. The author was domestic chaplain to Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, and his chief offence appears to have been in attaching to the Homilies of the church of England, which he abbreviated, a different sense from that approved of by the church, and omitting the part of the 20th article, which states the power of the church in controversies of faith, and in rites and ceremonies. The book was condemned to the flames by a public edict. The "Apology "of the Church of England" was that written by bishop Jewel. The complete title of the book, a copy of which is preserved in the British Museum, runs as follows: "Doc- "trina et politia ecclesiæ An- "glicanæ, a beatissimæ me- "moriæ principibus, Edvardo "Sexto, regina Elizabetha sta- "bilitæ, et a religiosissimo et "potentissimo monarcha Ja- "cobo Magnæ Britan. &c. "rege continuata. Londini, 1617." 4to.]

53. Though his death much affected his friends in Oxford, yet far greater the grief of that university for the decease of Robert Abbot, bishop of Salisbury, who died this year. One of the honours, not only of that see, but of the church of England, born at Guilford in Surrey, of religious parents, as persevering in the truth, though persecuted for the same in the reign of queen Mary[i]; whose two younger brothers, George and Maurice, the one came to be archbishop of Canterbury, the other was lord mayor of London, and the first knight of king Charles's dubbing. This good bishop his deserts, without any other friend or spokesman, preferred him to all his promotions. For upon his oration made on queen Elizabeth her inauguration, he was chosen scholar (and afterwards fellow and master) of Balliol college; upon a sermon preached at Worcester, he was made lecturer of that city; upon a sermon preached at Paul's Cross, Master John Stanhope preferred him to the rich benefice of Bingham in Nottinghamshire; upon a sermon preached before king James, he was nominated successor to Doctor Holland, in the king professor his place in Oxford[k]. Upon the fame of his incomparable lectures, *De Potestate Regia*, and other labours, he was made bishop of Salisbury[l], in conferring which place, the king conquered all opposition, which some envious persons raised against him; witness his ma-

A.D. 1617. 15 James. The death of Robert Abbot, bishop of Salisbury.

[i] [See his Life, written by Dr. Featley, in Fuller's] Abel Redivivus, p. 540. [Wood's Athen. II. p. 224.]

[k] [Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 65.]

[l] [In 1615. These lectures, "De Suprema potestate regia," against Bellarmine and Suarez, were published by his son Thos. Abbot, in 1619, and dedicated to his uncle, the archbishop; his Antilogia had been published a little before, in 1613. See Wood's Athen. II. p. 224.]

A. D. 1617. 15 James. jesty's pleasant speech[m]: "Abbot, I have had much "to do to make thee a bishop, but I know no reason "for it, unless it were because thou hast written a "book against a popish prelate[n];" meaning William Bishop, entitled by the pope[o], "the nominal "bishop of the aerial diocese of Chalcedon," which enraged the court papists against him to obstruct his preferment, "The hour-glass of his life," saith my author[p], "ran out the sooner for having the sand "or gravel thereof stopped;" so great his grief of the stone, though even whilst his body was on the rack, his soul found ease in the assurance of salvation[q].

The imposture of the boy of Bilson.

54. About this time, a boy dwelling at Bilson in Staffordshire, William Perry by name, not full fifteen years in age, (but above forty in cunning,) was practised on by some Jesuits (repairing to the house of Mr. Gifford in that county) to dissemble himself

[m] [Featley, ib. p. 548.]

[n] [Entitled, "the True an- "cient Roman Catholic, being "an apology or counterproof "against Dr. Bishop's reproof of "the defence of the Reformed "Catholic." Lond. 1611. 4to. Dedicated to prince Henry.]

[o] [See Wood's Athen. II. p. 356.]

[p] Featley, ib. p. 549.

[q] [According to Dr. Heylyn's statement, his end was hastened by the displeasure of his brother, the archbishop of Canterbury. "For after his "advancement to the see of "Sarum, being then near sixty "years of age, he married the "widow of one Dr. Cheynell, "a physician, who had been "one of his contemporaries "in Balliol college; the news "whereof being presented, with "some circumstances to his "disadvantage, to his brother, "the archbishop of Canter- "bury, he received from him "such a sharp and bitter letter "..... that not being able to "bear the burthen of so great "an insolency, he presently "took thought upon it, and as "presently died, leaving this "life on the 2nd of March, "the year almost expiring with "him." Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 75. This displeasure of his brother is also mentioned by Wood, Ath. II. p. 226.]

possessed[r]. This was done on design, that the priests might have the credit to cast out that devil, (which never was in,) so to grace their religion with the reputation of a miracle[s]. A. D. 1617. 15 James.

55. But now the best of the jest, (or rather the worst of the earnest was,) the boy having gotten a habit of counterfeiting, leading a lazy life thereby, to his own ease and parents' profit, (to whom he was more worth than the best plough-land in the shire,) would not be undeviled by all their exorcisms, so that the priests raised up a spirit which they could not allay. At last, by the industry of Dr. Morton, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, the juggling was laid open to the world by the boy's own confession and repentance; who being bound an apprentice, at the bishop's cost, verified the proverb, that "an unto-" ward boy may make a good man." Found out by bishop Morton.

56. Indeed, all this king's reign was scattered over with cheaters in this kind. Some papists, some sectaries, some neither, as who dissembled such possession, either out of malice to be revenged on those whom they accused of witchcraft, or covetousness to enrich themselves, seeing such, who out of charity or curiosity repaired unto them, were bountiful in their relief[t]. But take a few of many:— Cheaters of several kinds.

[r] [Arthur Wilson, who was better employed in writing comedies, has devoted several pages of his history to this absurd affair. Hist. of K. James, p. 107.]

[s] [According to Gee, Rich. Baddeley (probably the same as Morton's chaplain) published a book containing a full account of the impostures of this boy. Gee's Foot out of the Snare, 54.]

[t] [The puritans were quite as impudent as the papists in these tricks. The reader will find several stories of their pretences to casting out devils, as gross as any here mentioned, in Clarke's "Lives of 32 Eng-" lish Divines," p. 32. 71, sq. 3rd ed. 1677. fol.]

A. D. 1617. 15 James.

Papists.

Sarah Williams[u], lying past all sense in a trance, had a devil, say the Romanists, slipped up into her leg.

Grace Sowrebuts[x], of Samlesbury, in the county of Lancaster, was persuaded by Southworth[y], a priest, to dissemble possession, to gain himself credit by exorcising her.

Mary and Amy[z], two maids of Westminster, pretended themselves in raptures from the Virgin Mary and Michael the archangel[a].

Edward Hance[b], [alias Hanz,] a popish priest, born at Lutterworth in Leicestershire, gave it out that he was possessed of the blessed Trinity.

No Papists.

Rich. Haydok, fellow of New College in Oxford, preached in his dreams Latin sermons against the hierarchy. He afterwards recanted, lived in good esteem to a great age in Salisbury, practising physic, being also an excellent poet, limner, and engraver[c].

Anne Gunter, a maid of Windsor, gave it out she was possessed of a devil, and was transported with strange ecstatical phrensies.

A maid at Standon in Hertfordshire, which personated a demoniac so lively, that many judicious persons were deceived by her.

[u] See bishop Harsnet his book on this subject, p. 81. [Wood's Ath. I. p. 678.]

[x] Gee's Foot out of the Snare, p. 53.

[y] [Christopher Southworth, alias Thompson. She was examined before Wm. Leigh, B.D. and Edw. Chisnall, justices of the peace; which examination was published by Thos. Pots, esq. Gee, ib.]

[z] Idem, p. 54.

[a] [They also feigned themselves to be possessed sometimes by Mr. Molineux and Mr. Roberts, two priests who had been executed at Tyburn. Gee, ib.]

[b] Idem, p. 55.

[c] [There is a very curious MS. letter, quoted by Kennett, (MS. Coll. vol. LXXXIX. p. 31,) since published by Lodge, in his Illustrations of British Hist. vol. III. p. 275, from Ed. Lascells to the earl of Shrewsbury, dated Apr. 11, 1604, which shews how great a stir this cheat produced. The writer says, "All the fellows and "scholars in the college come "in duely to hear him preach "in his sleep, as they do to "any other sermon, and when "he awakes he knoweth no-"thing what he said..... He "doth always, both before and

See we this catalogue consists most of the weaker sex, either because Satan would plant his battery where easiest to make a breach, or because he found such most advantaged for dissembling, and his cloven foot best concealed under long coats. Indeed, some feminine weaknesses made them more strong to delude; the ruins of the disease of the mother being the best foundation to build such impostury thereon. A.D. 1618. 16 James.

57. King James remembering what Solomon saith, *It is the honour of a king to search out a matter*[d], was no less dexterous than desirous to make discovery of these deceits. Various were his ways in detecting them, aweing some into confession with his presence, persuading others by promise of pardon and fair usage. He ordered it so, that a proper courtier made love to one of these bewitched maids, and quickly Cupid's arrows drave out the pretended darts of the devil. Another there was, the tides of whose possession did so ebb and flow, that punctually they observed one hour till the king came to visit her. The maid, loath to be so unmannerly as to make his majesty attend her time, antedated her fits many hours, and instantly ran through the whole zodiac of tricks which she used to play. A third, strangely affected when the first verse of St. John's Gospel was read unto her in our translation, was tame and quiet whilst the same was pronounced in Greek, her English devil belike understanding no other language. The frequency of such forged pos- King James's dexterity in detecting them.

" after the sermon, pray very " zealously and orderly for the " king and the prince, and " proceeds then to his text, as " other preachers do. It hath " been told the king by two or " three that have heard him, and " the king thinks it a very " strange thing, and resolves " to send for him."]

[d] Prov. xxv. 2.

A. D. 1618. 16 James. sessions wrought such an alteration upon the judgment of king James, that he, receding from what he had written in his Demonology, grew first diffident of, and then flatly to deny the workings of witches and devils as but falsehoods and delusions.

The king's declaration for liberty on the Lord's day.

58. King James, having last year in his progress passed through Lancashire, took notice, that "by the "preciseness of some magistrates and ministers in "several places of this kingdom, in hindering people "from their recreations on the Sunday, the papists in "this realm were thereby persuaded that no honest "mirth or recreation was tolerable in our religion." Whereupon, the court being then at Greenwich, he set forth a declaration to this effect, that "for his "good people's lawful recreations, his pleasure was, "that after the end of divine service they should "not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any "lawful recreations; such as dancing, either of men "or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or "any such harmless recreations; nor from having of "May games, Whitsun-ales, or morris-dances, and "setting up of May-poles, or other sports therewith "used, so as the same be had in due and convenient "time, without impediment or let of divine service; "and that women should have leave to carry rushes "to the church for the decorating of it, according to "their old custom; withal, prohibiting all unlawful "games to be used on the Sundays only, as bear-"baiting, bull-baiting, interludes, and (at all times "in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited) "bowling."

The various effects thereof.

59. But when this declaration was brought abroad, it is not so hard to believe as sad to recount, what grief and distraction thereby was occasioned in many

honest men's hearts, who looked on it, not as local for Lancashire, but what in process of time would enlarge itself all over England[e]. Some conceived the recreations specified impeditive to the observation of the Lord's day; yea, unsuitable and unbeseeming the essential duties thereof. But others maintained, that if private men's speeches must not be pressed to an odious construction, much more men were bound candidly to interpret the acts of authority; and in charity must presume, and be persuaded, that religious princes will command nothing, what they conceive either to be unjust, or not expedient, all things considered. They considered moreover (which was mainly material) that this declaration was not dogmatical or doctrinal, to say or aver these things to be theologically lawful, but it was *edictum civile*, what the king thought fit upon just reasons to permit, without restraint or punishment. The hardness of men's hearts on one side, which will break loose though restrained, and the hope of gaining others on the other side, by a favourable allowance, might be just motives in authority to give way to things *civiliter*, that they may be done *impune*, and yet not prejudice any point of religion, and not be done *licite*, as in divorces *extra casum adulterii*, usury, &c. A. D. 1618. 16 James.

60. But the difficulty was increased when ministers daily feared to be urged upon their canonical obedience to promulgate and publish the said declaration in their parish churches, which some resolved flatly to refuse, especially such who formerly had strictly preached, and pressed the observation of the Lord's day, alleging for, and applying to themselves Reasons of the refusers to publish this declaration.

[e] So it was in the reign of king Charles, anno 1633.

A. D. 1618. 16 James. that place of St. Paul[f], *For if I build again the things which I have destroyed, I make myself a transgressor.* Besides this, they enforced the reasons following for their recusancy; yea, though the king himself should enjoin them on their allegiance.

i. That the publishing of this declaration would be *interpretativè* an approbation thereof, whereas on the contrary they are [g] commanded *to have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather to reprove them.*

ii. That hereby they should draw a just woe upon them pronounced by the prophet[h], *Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed.* Where (as the [i] learned interpret) even public notaries, which are but instrumental, are threatened with a curse.

iii. That the promulgation of a law is *de essentia legis*, so that people would neither take notice of this declaration, nor liberty by it, till it were published, and so the publisher should, *per se*, be a promoter of a sin.

iv. That obedience to authority obligeth only in *licitis et honestis;* and the [k] apostle confesseth, that he himself had power *to edification, and not to destruction;* whereunto the publishing thereof did manifestly tend.

The arguments for the lawful publishing of the declaration.

61. On the other side, some learned and pious ministers, who in their judgments were convinced that some of the aforesaid recreations were incompatible with the sanctification of the sabbath; notwithstanding, in case his majesty should enjoin it,

[f] Gal. ii. 18.
[g] Ephes. v. 11.
[h] Isa. x. 1.
[i] Junius and Piscator on the place.
[k] 2 Cor. xiii. 10.

on serious deliberation resolved, in obedience to the king, publicly to read, or cause the reading of the declaration, not looking at the contents therein, but at the authority commanding the publication thereof; the rather, because no subscription was required, or vocal assent to approve, what therein was contained to be just, or affirm it to be true; but a bare ministerial declaring of the king's will and pleasure therein, which they conceived themselves bound in conscience to perform, for the reasons ensuing: A. D. 1618. 16 James.

i. The refusal, well observed, doth resolve into a principle which would take away the necessity of obedience universally, when the party commanded can pretend the magistrate ought not to command him any such thing; and if the prince must suspend his edicts upon each subject's doubt, he should never set forth any, considering the variety of judgments, and the distractions which are in his subjects.

ii. A sheriff may, yea must, disperse the king his proclamations, which he liketh not; and a clerk, at the command of his master, a justice of peace, may lawfully write the mittimus of that person to prison whom in his particular judgment he conceiveth to be innocent: and (what is most proper to our purpose, because a religious instance) a minister, without any sin, may safely pronounce an excommunication, legally delivered unto him, though in his own private conscience he be convinced that the party is unjustly excommunicated.

iii. There are many precedents hereof in antiquity. A father[1] gives this censure, that when the Jews,

[1] Optatus [de Schism. Donat. lib. VII. p. 110. ed. 1702.]

A. D. 1618. 16 James. commanded by Antiochus, gave up the divine books to his officers to be destroyed, it was *peccatum—imperantis et minantis; non populi, cum tremore et dolore tradentis*, "a sin of him that commanded and "threatened it; not of the people, who surrendered "up those volumes with fear and sorrow." And St. Augustine[m] resolveth it in the case of a Christian soldier fighting under a sacrilegious emperor; that, though he be not satisfied in the lawfulness of the commands, he may notwithstanding lawfully obey. *Ita ut fortasse reum regem faciat iniquitas imperandi, innocentem autem militem ostendat ordo serviendi.* And, what is most apposite to the matter in hand, (because the edict of a godly emperor, seriously distasted by a godly bishop) Mauritius set forth a command, that "no soldier should be ad-"mitted into a monastery;" and though Gregory the Great was persuaded the prohibition was in itself injurious and unlawful, yet he did *per* [n]*diversas terrarum partes transmittere legem, quia erat subjectus ejus jussionibus.*

Convinced with these reasons, some ministers (not with any delight in the message, but in duty to the authority which sent) intended (if put to the trial) sadly and unwillingly to publish the declaration.

A third sort resolve on a strange expedient.

A third sort took up a resolution to read the declaration, or suffer it to be read, and presently after to preach against the contents of what they had published; hoping so, warily to avoid the danger of disobedience in refusing to promulgate it, and of profaneness in seeming to approve it. But whether by this middle way, setting God and the king

[m] Contra Faustum XXII. c. 75. [n] Lib. II. Ep. 62.

as openly opposite, they would have declined or contracted more odium, it is hard to determine. A. D. 1618. 16 James.

62. But now, after so long and many diversities of opinions and arguments on several sides, their own fear proved at last their only foe; the king's goodness taking away the subject of their jealousy; so that no minister in the county was enjoined to read the book in his parish, wherewith they had so affrighted themselves. However, their arguments may be kept cold, and laid up provisionally against the time they had use thereof, especially for such who survived till the seventh of king Charles, when the declaration for liberty on the Lord's day was enjoined (though not by the king) the ministers to publish clean through the land. Lancashire ministers more scared than hurt.

63. However, there wanted not many, both in Lancashire and elsewhere, who conceived the declaration came forth seasonably to suppress the dangerous endeavour of such who now began in their pulpits to broach the dregs of Judaism, and force Christians to drink them. So that those legal ceremonies, long since dead, buried, and rotten in the grave of our Saviour, had now their ghosts, as it were, walking; frighting such people with their terrible apparitions, who were persuaded by some preachers to so rigorous observation of the sabbath, that therein it was unlawful to dress meat, sweep their houses, kindle the fire, or the like. Yea, and the papists, in Lancashire especially (a frontier country, as I may term it, of papists and protestants, where the reformed religion had rather a truce than a peace, standing on its guard and posture of defence) I say, in Lancashire the Romanists made advantage of this strictness to pervert many to A fourth sort read it with approbation of the contents therein.

A. D. 1618. 16 James.

popery, persuading them that the protestant religion was the school of Tyrannus, where no lawful liberty was allowed. And no wonder if many common people were hereby fetched off unto them, starting aside as a broken bow, chiefly because overbent for lack of lawful recreation. But enough hereof, and too much (if not pressed thereunto in pursuance of our history) and yet ere long we must have more on the same sad subject [o].

[o] [In Barwick's Life of Dr. Morton is some curious information respecting this subject which is not generally known. At the time when Morton was promoted to Durham the northern counties abounded with Roman catholics, and, as king James asserts in his declaration, the "county of Lancashire abounded more in popish recusants than any county in England." In these parts of the realm "it was no "small policy (says Dr. Barwick) in the leaders of the "popish party to keep the "people from church by dancing and other recreations, "even in the time of divine "service, especially on holy-days, and the Lord's day in "the afternoon. By which "means they kept the people "in ignorance and luke-warmness, and so made them the "more capable to be wrought "upon by their emissaries; "which gross abuse this bishop endeavoured to redress "in his primary visitation. But "it was represented to king "James as a very great grievance, at his return out of "Scotland through Lancashire "in 1617, by some in court "who were too favorable to "that party. And his readiness to hear any complaint "against a thing that carried "but the name of a public "grievance, encouraged some "to so much boldness the next "Lord's day after, as even to "disturb the public worship "and service of God by their "piping and dancing within "the hearing of all those that "were at church, whereof the "king being fully informed by "this bishop, utterly disavowed any thoughts or intention "of encouraging such profaneness; and therefore left them "that were guilty of it to the "bishop's censure, which he "inflicted only upon one that "was the head and causer of "it. There wanted not some "still to complain to the king "of the bishop's proceedings "herein as rigorous and tyrannical, considering that the "chief thing they desired was "only some innocent recreation for servants and other "inferior people on the Lord's "day, and holy-days, whose

64. Now of the broachers of Judaism, John Traske was a principal. Whether ever he sucked on the breasts of either University, or only was brought up by hand in some petty school, I know not. This I know, that seeking to be made deacon, or minister, by James, bishop of Bath and Wells, doctor Samuel Ward, then poser, and the bishop's chaplain, refused him as altogether insufficient. However, afterwards he got orders, and then began to vent his opinions; that "the Lord's day was to "be observed with the same strictness by Christians "as it was by Jews;" and, that "all meats and

A. D. 1618. 16 James.

The heretical opinions of John Traske.

"laborious callings deprived "them of it at all other times; "and thereupon to solicit his "majesty for some power "therein, and the rather be- "cause it was the general de- "sire of most of that country. "Which the king finding to be "true upon enquiry, and will- "ing to give them satisfaction "therein, consulted with this "reverend person, being the "bishop of that diocese, how "he might satisfy their desires "without endangering this li- "berty to be turned into licen- "tiousness. The bishop here- "upon, retiring from the court "at Haughton Tower to his "own lodging at Preston, con- "sidered of six limitations or "restrictions, by way of con- "dition, to be imposed upon "every man that should enjoy "the benefit of that liberty; "which he presented to the "king in writing the next day, "and which the king did very "well approve of, and added "a seventh; saying only, he "would alter them from the "words of a bishop to the "words of a king. It is not "to be omitted that bishop "Andrews attended the king "at the same time, and there- "fore in all probability was "consulted in the same busi- "ness. But all that I can "positively say in it is what "I have here said, and this I "can positively say, because I "have often heard it from this "reverend bishop's own mouth. "All the arguments I could "ever yet see urged against "the lawfulness of what is "permitted by [this declara- "tion], taking it as it is still "and ever was, restrained by "these limitations and condi- "tions, are grounded upon no "other bottom for the most "part, than the bare name of "sabbath as it is applied or "misapplied to the Lord's "day." Life of Morton, p. 80. The King's Declaration is printed in Wilkins' Conc. IV. p. 483.]

A.D. 1618. 16 James. drinks forbidden in the Levitical law bound Christians to the same observance," thereby opening a door to let in the rabble of all ceremonies: thus he brought in a constant lent of his own making; and whereas divines can forbid no meat as unlawful (though politicians may as unthrifty for the state, and physicians as unhealthful for the body) because Christ hath given us that licence, *To the clean all things are clean*, yet he seduced many souls with his tenets, and his own wife amongst many others. For these he was censured in the Star chamber, but afterwards recanted his opinions, and lived (as unsettled in judgment as place) in several parts of the kingdom. I have heard him preach a sermon nothing relating to the aforesaid doctrine, and when his auditors have forgotten the matter, they will remember the loudness of his stentorious voice, which indeed had more strength than any thing else he delivered. He afterwards relapsed, not into the same but other opinions, rather humourous than hurtful, and died obscurely at Lambeth in the reign of king Charles. Nor must we forget that his wife could never be unperverted again, but perished in her Judaism; because, as our Saviour[p] observeth, proselytes in general are twofold worse than their leader; and her sex (as pliable to receive as tenacious to retain) had weakness enough to embrace an error, and obstinacy too much to forsake it[q].

[p] Matt. xiii. 15.

[q] [I have in my possession a remarkable tract, entitled, "Liberty from Judaism," written by this John Traske, after he had seen and repented of his error. It is certainly not the production of a weak or an ignorant person, but is, on the contrary, remarkable for the excellence of its style and spirit, particularly the introduction to his "holy and tender mother, the Church of "England."

Alluding to his error and

65. At this time began the troubles in the Low Countries about matters of religion, heightened between two opposite parties, remonstrants and contra-remonstrants; their controversies being chiefly reducible to five points: of predestination and reprobation; of the latitude of Christ's death; of the power of man's free will, both before and after his conversion; and of the elect's perseverance in grace. To decide these difficulties, the States of the United Provinces resolved to call a national synod at Dort; and to give the more lustre and weight to the determinations thereof, desired some foreign princes to send them the assistance of their divines for so pious a work; especially they requested our king of Great Britain to contribute his aid thereunto, (being himself as forward to do as they desire any thing conducible to God's glory and the church's good,) who, out of his own princely wisdom and free favour, made choice of George Carleton, doctor of divinity, then bishop of Llandaff, and afterward bishop of Chichester; Joseph Hall, doctor of divinity, then dean of Worcester, and afterward bishop of Exeter and Norwich; John Davenant, doctor of divinity, then Margaret professor, and master of Queen's College in Cambridge, afterwards bishop of Salisbury; A.D. 1618. 16 James.

repentance he concludes his treatise in these words: "*non* "*est grave cadere* luctantem, "sed jacere dejectum: non est "perniciosum in prœlio vul- "nerari, sed post vulnus accep- "tum desperatione curandi me- "delam vulneri denegare. Sæpe "etiam athletas videmus post "frequentes lapsus et dejec- "tiones plurimas coronatos; "militem scimus post multas "fugas virum fortem fuisse et "vicisse victores."

This pamphlet was published in 1620.

The most curious account of John Traske and his opinions, together with some of his letters, will be found in Pagett's Heresiography. Bp. Andrews preached against this heresy.]

A. D. 1618. 16 James. Samuel Ward, doctor of divinity, then master of Sidney College in Cambridge, and archdeacon of Taunton. These, according to their summons, repairing to his majesty at Newmarket, received from him there these following instructions concerning their behaviour in the synod:

These instructions I saw transcribed out of Dr. Davenant his own manuscript.

i. Our will and pleasure is, That from this time forward, upon all occasions, you inure yourselves to the practice of the Latin tongue; that when there is cause you may deliver your minds with more readiness and facility.

ii. You shall in all points to be debated and disputed resolve amongst yourselves beforehand what is the true state of the question, and jointly and uniformly agree thereupon.

iii. If in debating of the cause by the learned men there, any thing be emergent whereof you thought not before, you shall meet and consult thereupon again, and so resolve among yourselves jointly what is fit to be maintained; and this to be done agreeable to the scriptures and the doctrine of the Church of England.

iv. Your advice shall be to those churches, that their ministers do not deliver in the pulpit to the people those things for ordinary doctrines which are the highest points of schools, and not fit for vulgar capacity, but disputable on both sides.

v. That they use no innovation in doctrine, but teach the same things which were taught twenty or thirty years past, in their own churches; and especially that which contradicteth not their own confessions so long since published and known unto the world.

vi. That they conform themselves to the public

confessions of the neighbour-reformed churches, with whom to hold good correspondency shall be no dishonour to them. A.D. 1618. 16 James.

vii. That if there be main opposition between any who are overmuch addicted to their own opinions, your endeavour shall be, that certain positions be moderately laid down, which may tend to the mitigation of heat on both sides.

viii. That as you principally look to God's glory and the peace of those distracted churches, so you have an eye to our honour, who send and employ you thither; and consequently at all times consult with our ambassador there residing, who is best acquainted with the form of those countries, understandeth well the questions and differences among them, and shall from time to time receive our princely directions, as occasion shall require.

ix. Finally; in all other things which we cannot foresee, you shall carry yourselves with that advice, moderation, and discretion, as to persons of your quality and gravity shall appertain.

Doctor Davenant and doctor Ward presented themselves again to his majesty, at Royston, October 8th, where his majesty vouchsafed his familiar discourse unto them for two hours together, commanding them to sit down by him, and at last dismissed them with his solemn prayer, that God would bless their endeavours, which made them cheerfully to depart his presence.

66. Addressing themselves now with all possible speed to the sea side, they casually missed that man of war which the States had sent to conduct them over, (though they saw him on sea at some distance,) and safely went over in a small vessel, land-

[illegible] Middleburgh. On the 27th of [illegible] came to Hague, where they [illegible] excellency Grave Maurice. [illegible] made a short speech, and by [illegible] courteously entertained: hence [illegible] where. November 3rd. the [illegible] we leave them with the [illegible] when first every one [illegible] admission oath at their [illegible]

[illegible] whom I believe and [illegible] searcher of the heart and reins [illegible] action, wherein shall be [illegible] judgment, and decision [illegible] five articles, and [illegible] of all other doctrine [illegible] make use of any human [illegible] word, for the certain [illegible] and that I shall [illegible] this whole cause [illegible] the peace of the church, [illegible] of the purity of [illegible] our Jesus Christ [illegible] earnestly pray, that [illegible] always be present [illegible]

[illegible] their fellow [illegible] all over the [illegible] with a storm in the [illegible] will justly so[illegible] matters, spe[illegible] that from my present

subject—only a touch of an historical passage therein, confining ourselves to our own countrymen. A. D. 1618. 16 James.

67. These four divines had allowed them by the States ten pounds sterling a day, threescore and ten pounds by the week; an entertainment far larger than what was appointed to any other foreigu theologues, and politicly proportioned in grateful consideration of the greatness of his majesty who employed them. And these English divines, knowing themselves sent over, not to gain wealth to themselves, but glory to God and reputation to their sovereign, freely gave what they had freely received, keeping a table general where any fashionable foreigner was courteously and plentifully entertained. The States' liberal allowance to the English divines.

68. They were commanded by the king to give him a weekly account (each one in his several week according to their seniority) of all memorable passages transacted in the synod[s]; yet it happened, that for a month or more the king received from them no particulars of their proceedings, whereat his majesty was most highly offended: but afterwards understanding that this defect was caused by the countermands of an higher king, even of him *who gathereth the wind in his fists*[t], stopping all passages by contrary weather, no wonder if he, who was so great a peacemaker, was himself so quickly pacified; yea, afterwards highly pleased, when four weekly dispatches (not neglected to be orderly sent but delayed to be accordingly brought) came altogether to his majesty's hands. Weekly intelligence to the king from his divines.

69. On the 10th of December, Walter Balcan- Mr. Balcanquall admitted into the synod.

[s] [See a letter from Bedell to Ward, in reference to this subject, in Tanner's Coll. lxxiv. p. 228.]

[t] Prov. xxx. 4.

A.D. 1618. 16 James. quall, bachelor of divinity, and fellow of Pembroke Hall, came into the synod, where his credential letters from king James were publicly read, whose pleasure it was that he should be added to the four English colleagues in the name of the church of Scotland. The president of the synod welcomed him with a short oration, which by Mr. Balcanquall was returned with another[u], and so was he conducted to his place; a place built for him particularly, as one coming after all the rest, so that his seat discomposed the uniformity of the building, exactly regular before. But it matters not how the seats were ordered, so that the judgments of such as sat therein were conformed to the truth of the scriptures.

Dr. Hall his return thence. 70. Doctor Joseph Hall being at the synod of Dort, and finding much indisposition in himself, the air not agreeing with his health, on his humble

[u] [He was by birth a Scotchman, chaplain to the king, and had been master of the hospital called the Savoy in the Strand, which upon his resignation was given to Ant. de Dominis, Abp. of Spalato; but that prelate not retaining it long, it was again restored to Dr. Balcanquall. In 1624 he was made dean of Rochester, from which place he was promoted to the deanery of Durham in 1639. Upon the outbreak of the great rebellion, he was stripped and plundered by the presbyterians, and being a particular object of hatred to them for his loyalty to the king and his activity in defeating their designs, he was obliged to flee for his life and escape into Derbyshire, where he was hospitably received by sir Thomas Middleton of Chirk castle. There the malice of his enemies still following him he was compelled to seek a place of greater security, and worn out with fatigue, cold, and sickness, he shortly after died on Christmas-day, 1645. (See Wood's Fasti, Oxon. I. 211, and his epitaph in the Ath. III. 180. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, 19.) He was sent to Dort as a representative of the Church of Scotland, though afterwards no favourite with his countrymen, as having been supposed to have drawn up "*The* "*Declaration of king Charles I.* "*concerning the late tumults in* "*Scotland, &c.*" Lond. 1639, fol.; see a pamphlet entitled, the Canterburian's Self Conviction.]

request obtained his majesty's leave to return; whereupon, composing his countenance with a becoming gravity, he publicly took his solemn farewell of the synod with the speech following[x]: A.D. 1619. 17 James.

"Non facile vero mecum in gratiam redierit ca-
" daverosa hæc moles, quam ægre usque circum-
" gesto, quæ mihi hujus conventus celebritatem toties
" inviderit, jamque prorsus invitissimum a vobis im-
" portune avocat, et divellit. Neque enim ullus est
" profecto sub cœlo locus æque cœli æmulus, et in
" quo tentorium mihi figi maluerim, cujusque adeo
" gestiet mihi animus meminisse. Beatos vero vos,
" quibus hoc frui datum! non dignus eram ego (ut
" fidelissimi Romani querimoniam imitari liceat) qui
" et Christi et Ecclesiæ suæ nomine sanctam hanc
" provinciam diutius sustinerem. Illud vero Θεοῦ
" ἐν γούνασι. Nempe audito, quod res erat, non
" alia me quam adversissima hic usum valetudine,
" serenissimus rex meus misertus miselli famuli sui,
" revocat me domum, quippe quod cineres meos, aut
" sandapilam vobis nihil quicquam prodesse posse
" norit, succenturiavitque mihi virum e suis selectissi-
" mum, quantum theologum! De me profecto (mero
" jam silicernio) quicquid fiat, viderit ille Deus meus,
" cujus ego totus sum. Vobis quidem ita feliciter
" prospectum est, ut sit cur infirmitati meæ haud
" parum gratulemini, quum hujusmodi instructissimo
" succedaneo cœtum hunc vestrum beaverit. Neque
" tamen committam (si Deus mihi vitam et vires
" indulserit) ut et corpore simul et animo abesse
" videar. Interea sane huic synodo, ubicunque ter-
" rarum sum, et vobis, consiliis conatibusque meis

[x] [This oration exists in MS. among Tanner's Collection in the Bodleian, vol. lxxiv. p. 215.]

A.D. 1619. 17 James. "quibuscunque, res vestras me, pro virili, sedulo ac "serio promoturum, sancte voveo. Interim vobis "omnibus ac singulis, honoratissimi domini delegati, "reverendissime præses, gravissimi assessores, scribæ "doctissimi, symmystæ colendissimi, tibique vene- "randissima synodus universa, ægro animo ac cor- "pore æternum valedico. Rogo vos omnes obnixius, "ut precibus vestris imbecillem reducem facere, "comitari, prosequi velitis."

Thus returned Dr. Hall into his own country; since so recovered (not to say revived therein) that he hath gone over the graves of all his English colleagues there, and (what cannot God and good air do) surviving in health at this day, three and thirty years after, may well with *Jesse, go amongst men for an old man in these days*[y]; and living privately, having passed through the bishoprics of Exeter and Norwich, hath now the opportunity in these troublsome times effectually to practise those his precepts of patience and contentment which his pen hath so eloquently recommended to others.

Dr. Goad in the room of Dr. Hall.

71. On the 7th of January, Thomas Goad, doctor of divinity, chaplain to George, archbishop of Canterbury, came into the synod, sent thither by his majesty of Great Britain[z]. The president enter-

[y] 1 Sam. xvii. 12.

[z] [Son of Dr. Roger Goad, provost of King's Coll. in Camb. the intimate friend of the celebrated Dr. Whitaker, on whose death he wrote a copy of Latin verses, as did also the son. (See them printed at the end of Whitaker's Life, subjoined to his Presbyt. Theol. ed. 1603.) Dr. Thomas Goad was made dean of Bocking in 1633, and was also a prebend of Canterbury, and died in 1638. (See Wood's Fasti, Oxon. I. 206.) Though a theologian of great eminence in his own days, nothing has been published of his remains except a short disputation upon the "Necessity and "Contingency of Events," subjoined to bishop Womack's "Result of False Principles;" and a few letters in the Epistolæ, signed in conjunction with the rest of his colleagues.]

tained him with a solemn oration, highly commending king James's care, not recalling one divine till he had substituted another. The doctor requited him with a pithy oration, promising the utmost of his assistance to the general good, a promise by him well performed, giving afterwards ample testimony of his general learning and solid judgment in divinity; nothing being wanting in him but that he came hither so late to this employment [a]. A. D. 1619. 17 James.

[a] [This letter, written by bp. Hall on his return from the synod, having never been printed, may perhaps interest the reader:—

"Good brother Ward,

"Ever since my return "my health hath come on so "slowly that I could not so "much as write till now. You "have heard of our passage, "partly troublesome and part-"ly also successful. I could "not till within these two days "present myself to the king, "of whom I was received ex-"ceeding graciously. All the "last Sunday's dinner he spent "in discourse with me about "our synodal affairs. Some "busy information hath moved "him against the president as "indiscretely hot and rigid in "the dismission of the remon-"strants. I have fully satis-"fied him. I perceive his ma-"jesty much distasted with the "displacing of the Apocrypha; "it did a little pacify him to "hear that we had publicly re-"quired it should be inserted "in the Acts, that this sentence "was without, rather against, "the allowance of the foreign "[that is, the English] divines. "Which you must take care "may be answerably done, when "the acts shall be intended to "light.

"The particular letters which "Mr. Balcanquall writes, give "satisfaction to his majesty; "when either your common "are silent or come late. I "was yesterday with my lord's "grace, who rejoices in the re-"port of the approbation of "our British divines.

"Remember my service to "my lord of Landaff; my "thanks to sir John Berwick; "my love to my other bre-"thren; and let us strive mu-"tually in our prayers for each "other. For me, I shall not "fail to be ever

"your truly loving brother,
"and double colleague,
"Jos. Hall.

"Waltham,
"Candlemas-day."

Tanner MS. lxxiv. 208.]

SECT. V.

TO

MASTER PETER MAROLOYS[a],

AND

MASTER THOMAS ROWSE[b].

OF LONDON, MERCHANTS.

The Netherlands are the scene whereon the beginning of this section was transacted; they were also the native countries of your ancestors, flying hither from persecution. Since, as your fathers then found safety amongst the English, some of the English, to my knowledge, have felt bounty from their children. God increase your store, and make you like the good merchant in the gospel[c]*, who, to purchase the great pearl, sold all that he had, that is, undervalued all worldly wealth coming in competition with God, or grace, or glory.*

A. D. 1619. 17 James.

The Belgic Confession presented in the Synod.

BEFORE the end of the hundred and forty-fifth session, April the 20th, in the forenoon, the Belgic Confession was brought into the Synod, containing matter both of doctrine and discipline,

[a] [I have not been able to find any family or person bearing this name or coat in any alphabet of arms, or in the Visitations for Middlesex. If the name be correctly printed, for it occurs again in the Pisgah Sight, I infer that he was either not naturalized here or died without issue.]

[b] [Arms. Or, on a bend cotised gules, five bezants. The same arms for Rouse or Rowse occur again in the Pisgah Sight, but of their bearer I can find no account.]

[c] Matt. xiii. 46.

and the public consent thereunto was required. Here the bishop of Llandaff[d], in the name of all the rest, approved all the points of doctrine; but as for matter of discipline, that his mother church and his own order might not suffer therein, and he seem by silence to betray the cause thereof, a protest was entered by him, as mouth for the rest, to preserve the same, as by the perusing the following passage will appear: A. D. 1619. 17 James.

Interea tamen de disciplina paucis monet. Nunquam in ecclesia obtinuisse ministrorum paritatem non tempore Christi ipsius, tunc enim duodecim apostolos fuisse discipulis superiores; non apostolorum ætate, non subsecutis seculis. Nec valere rationem in hac confessione usurpatam, Nempe quia omnes sunt æque ministri Christi. *Nam et septuaginta discipuli erant ministri Christi, æque ac apostoli, non tamen inde apostolis æquales: et omnes omnino homines sunt æque homines, non inde tamen homo homini non debet subesse. Hæc, non ad harum ecclesiarum offensionem, sed ad nostræ Anglicanæ defensionem se monuisse professus est.——Britannorum interpellationi responsum ne gru quidem.*

" Notwithstanding, in the mean time, he briefly " gave his advice concerning discipline. That the " parity of ministers never prevailed in the church, " no, not in the time of Christ Himself; for then " the twelve apostles were superior to the disciples; " not in the time of the apostles, nor in the ages " after them. Nor is that reason of any force " alleged in their confession, namely, *Because all* " *are equally the ministers of Christ.* For, even

[d] [Dr. George Carleton.]

A. D. 1619. 17 James. "the seventy disciples were equally ministers of "Christ with the apostles, and yet it follows not "thence, they were equal with the apostles: and "all men altogether are equally men, yet thence "it cannot be inferred, that one man ought not to "be subject to another. These things he pro- "fessed himself to have hinted, not to offend these "churches therewith, but to defend their own Church "of England——. To this interpellation of the "British divines nothing at all was answered[e]."

Hereby the equal reader may judge how candidly master Montague, in his appeal, dealeth with our English divines, charging[f] them, That the discipline of the Church of England is in this synod held unlawful. And again[g], The synod of Dort in some points "condemneth upon the bye even the disci- "pline of the Church of England." But let such as desire further satisfaction herein peruse the joint attestation which those English divines set forth, anno 1626, to justify their proceedings herein[h].

The States' bounty to the British divines.

2. On the 29th of April the synod ended. The states, to express their gratitude, bestowed on the English divines at their departure two hundred

[e] [See the "Joint Attestation," p. 16.]

[f] Appeal, p. 70. [Speaking of the synod of Dort, whose conclusions many were anxious to enforce upon our own church, Montague states that he is ignorant of any act by which it is obligatory with any "to "maintain or believe all or any "of the articles concluded on "in that synod, further than "they agree with the *author-* "*ized doctrine* of the Church of "England, whose discipline in "that and other Dutch synods "is held unlawful. (Harm. "Synod. Belg. chap. xiii. can. "8.)" Certainly, as far as the Dutch themselves were concerned, and that is all that Montague intends, it was in many points held unlawful.]

[g] Appeal, p. 108.

[h] [The title of this pamphlet follows: "A Joint Attestation, "avowing that the Discipline "of the Church of England "was not impeached by the "synod of Dort," Lond. 1626.]

pounds to bear their charges in their return; besides, a golden medal of good value was given to every one of them wherein the sitting of the synod was artificially represented. And now these divines, who for many months had in a manner been fastened to their chairs and desks, thought it a right due to themselves, that when their work was ended they might begin their recreation; wherefore they viewed the most eminent cities in the Low Countries, and at all places were bountifully received, Leyden only excepted. Wonder not, that they, who had most learning, should shew least civility, especially having professors of humanity amongst them, seeing generally the great ones of that university at this time being Remonstrants were disaffected at the decisions of the synod. This gave occasion to that passage in the speech of sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador, when in the name of his master he tendered the States public thanks for their great respects to the English divines, using words to this effect: That they had been entertained at Amsterdam, welcomed at the Hague, cheerfully received at Rotterdam, kindly embraced at Utrecht, &c. and that they had seen Leyden. A. D. 1619. 17 James.

3. But how high an esteem the States-general had of these our Englishmen's service, will best appear by their letter which they sent to king James as followeth:— Their letter to king James.

Serenissime Rex,

Quemadmodum hoc unice propositum nobis fuit, ut, quæ in civitatibus provinciisque nostris, ante annos aliquot exortæ erant infelices de religione contentiones, eruditorum ac piorum hominum judicio legitime tolli,

A.D. 1619 17 James.

ac componi possent; ut, et conscientiis eorum, quibus nos præesse Deus immortalis voluit, ipsique pariter reipublicæ, sua in religione ac pietate simul, ratio constaret et tranquillitas; ita nos benigne is respexit, cui hactenus curæ fuimus, qui conventui nostro nationali, quem ex omnibus idem sentientibus ecclesiis convocavimus, ita benedixit, ut, re tanta ad felicem atque optatum exitum perducta, domum et ad suos se conferant. Quibus, benedictionem Domini, studium nostrum in promovendo pietatis negotio, consensum plane cum aliis ecclesiis unanimem indicabunt. Inter quos, cum præcipui et consilio et loco fuerint Magnæ Britanniæ theologi, quos, pro singulari et divino in nos et ecclesias nostras affectu, ad nos mittere dignata est majestas tua; curæ nobis fuit, ut, quantopere hujus beneficii magnitudinem æstimemus, ex nobis intelligeret majestas tua. Est vero illud, rex serenissime, etiamsi cum reliquis, quæ infinita sunt, conferatur, tanto majus, quanto uberiores sunt fructus, quos ex Dei causa expectamus, quantoque id majestatis tuæ nomini est convenientius; qui, cum nulla re externa atque humana, quæ potissimum aliis principibus conciliant dignitatem, quoquam rege sit inferior, fidei defensionem, tanquam Dei, ecclesiæque patronus in his terris, sibi merito assumit. Neque dubitare possumus, quin, et majestatis tuæ regna tot, et tanta; reliquæque, quæ in hoc negotio nobis operam navarunt, ecclesiæ, magnam utilitatem ex hoc instituto nostro percepturæ sint, quæ exemplo nostro discent, quanto periculo conjunctum sit, quæ bene in religione constituta sunt temere movere, quum sint felices atque fortunatæ, quamdiu simili remedio opus non habebunt: cui hactenus abunde, majestatis tuæ cura atque vigilantia, prospectum fuit. In theologis porro utriusque regni vestri

omnibus et singulis, quorum agmen ducit vere reverendissimus dominus Georgius Landavensis episcopus, imago atque expressa virtutis effigies; eam eruditionem, pietatem, pacis studium, eumque zelum deprehendimus, ut, cum ipsius beneficii causa majestati tuæ multum debeamus, magna pars ipsius beneficii nobis videatur, quod ipsi ad nos missi sint. A. D. 1619. 17 James.

Deus immortalis majestati tuæ, rex serenissime, ita benedicat, ut illius benedictionis partem, orbis Christianus, ex diuturnitate regni tui, et ecclesiæ defensione, diu percipiat.

4. With these testimonial letters over they came into England, and first presented themselves to king James, who, seeing them out of a window when first entering the court, "Here comes," said "he, my good mourners," alluding to their black habit and late death of queen Anne. Then, after courteous entertaining of them, he favourably dismissed them, and afterward on three of them[i] The British divines return into England.

[i] Removing Carleton to Chichester, preferring Davenant to Salisbury, and bestowing the mastership of the Savoy on Balcanquall ——. [Probably Goad obtained no preferment as having changed his opinions. Like Hales of Eton, who was also present at this synod, and returned hence with altered sentiments, having "bidden "John Calvin good night;" (to use his own words,) so Dr. Goad shortly after abandoned the high Calvinistic party and went over to the other side. These effects may be attributed not only to a more careful discussion of the subject, but also to the arguments and eloquence of Episcopius. See a treatise by Dr. Goad, then rector of Hadleigh in Suffolk, entitled, "A Disputation, partly Theo-"logical, partly Metaphysical, "concerning the Necessity and "Contingency of Events in the "World in respect of God's "Eternal Decree; written a-"bove twenty years since;" and published in 1661. Also Hale's Letters from the Synod, published at the end of his works; and a Brief Account of the Synod of Dort, taken out of the letters of Mr. Hales and Mr. Balcanquall, &c.: in [bishop Womack's] Result of

A. D. 1619. 17 James.

bestowed preferment. So returned they all to their several professions: bishop Carleton to the careful governing of his diocese; doctor Davenant, besides his collegiate cure, to his constant lectures in the schools; Dr. Ward to his discreet ordering of his own college; Dr. Goad to his diligent discharging of domestical duties in the family of his lord and patron; and Mr. Balcanquall to his fellowship in Pembroke hall.

This synod diversely censured.

5. Since, it hath been the success of this synod to have the decisions thereof to be approved, applauded, magnified by some; vilified, contemned, condemned by others. If men were divided in their censures[k] about Christ, some saying, *He is a good man: others, nay; but He deceiveth the people:* no wonder if ever since all conventions of Christians be subject to variety of men's verdicts upon them. Of such as dislike the synod, none falls heavier upon it than a London[l] divine, charging the synodians to have taken a previous oath to condemn the opposite party on what terms soever. But take him in his own words: "Far be it from me to subscribe "the report or information of those who charge the "respective members of this synod with suffering "themselves to be bound with an oath, at or be- "fore their admission thereunto, to vote down the "Remonstrants and their doctrines, (howsoever,) yet "when I read and consider, 1. how learnedly, "solidly, and substantially they quit themselves, and

False Principles, p. 221, ed. 1661. In the same writer's "Calvinist's Cabinet Unlock- "ed," p. 92, 4, will be found some anecdotes respecting the private history of this synod, not elsewhere to be met with.]

[k] John vii. 12.

[l] Mr. John Goodwin in his Redemption Redeem'd, cap. 15. parag. 24, pag. 395.

" argue, whilst they go along with the Remonstrants, A.D. 1619. 17 James.
" and declare wherein they agree with them, in the
" points controverted betwixt them; 2dly, how
" feebly and unlike themselves they reason when
" they come to the quick of the difference; 3dly,
" and lastly, how near, at very many turns, even in
" those things wherein they pretend to differ, they
" come unto them, as if they had a very good mind
" to be no more two, but one with them; when, I
" say, I consider all these things, methinks I see
" the interest and obligation of an oath working
" much after the same manner as sometimes it did
" in Herod, when for his oath's sake, contrary to
" his mind and desire otherwise, he caused John
" the Baptist's head to be given to Herodias in a
" platter[m]." See here how this suggester, though at the first he takes water and washeth his hands with a " far be it from me to subscribe the report," &c. yet afterwards he crucifies the credit of a whole synod, and makes them all guilty of no less than damnable perjury.

This suggester's surmise most improbable.

6. I could have wished that he had mentioned in the margin the authors of this suggestion, whereas now the omission thereof will give occasion to some to suspect him for the first raiser of the report; an heavy accusation charging a whole synod of injustice. When Festus the heathen magistrate was so much Christian as not to condemn an accused man[n] before he hath license to answer for himself, could any assembly of Christian ministers be so heathen as to bind themselves by an oath, right or wrong, with blind obedience, to beat down the opposite

[m] Matt. xvi. 4.

[n] Acts xxv. 26.

A.D. 1619. 17 James. party wherein they were all actually foresworn, having publicly taken so solemn an oath to proceed impartially, according to God's word and their own conscience? What said Laban to [o]Jacob? *If thou shalt take other wives besides my daughters, no man is with us; see, God is witness between thee and me:* so, if these divines having betrothed their faith to God and the world in so open and public a manner, besides this oath, did bind themselves with any other taken before or after, in a clandestine way, contrary to their public promise, would not God the sole judge herein, sensible of this affront offered to him and his truth, heavily punish so heinous an offence? And can any charitable-minded man believe, that learned men would, that godly men could be guilty of so deep and damnable dissimulation?

Bishop Hall his letter to the author. 7. Musing with myself on this matter, and occasionally exchanging letters with the sons of bishop Hall, it came into my mind to ask them Joseph's [p]question to his brethren, *Is your father well, the old man of whom ye spake? Is he yet alive?* and, being informed of his life and health, I addressed myself in a letter unto him for satisfaction in this particular, who was pleased to honour me with this return herein inserted:—

"Whereas you desire from me a just relation of "the carriage of the business at the synod of Dort, "and the conditions required of our divines there, "at, or before their admission to that grave and "learned assembly; I, whom God was pleased to "employ as an unworthy agent in that great work,

[o] Gen. xxxi. 50. [p] Gen. xliii. 27.

" and to reserve still upon earth, after all my reve- A.D. 1619.
" rend and worthy associates, do, as in the presence 17 James.
" of that God, to whom I am now daily expecting
" to yield up my account, testify to you and (if you
" will) to the world, that I cannot, without just
" indignation, read that slanderous imputation which
" Mr. Goodwin, in his Redemption Redeemed, re-
" ports to have been raised and cast upon those
" divines, eminent both for learning and piety; That
" they suffered themselves to be bound with an oath
" at or before their admission into that synod to
" vote down the Remonstrants howsoever; so as
" they came deeply preengaged to the decision of
" those unhappy differences.

"Truly, sir, as I hope to be saved, all the oath
" that was required of us was this: After that the
" moderator, assistants, and scribes were chosen, and
" the synod formed, and the several members allow-
" ed, there was a solemn oath required to be taken
" by every one of that assembly, which was publicly
" done, in a grave manner, by every person in their
" order standing up and laying his hand upon his
" heart, calling the great God of heaven to witness
" that he would unpartially proceed in the judgment
" of these controversies which should be laid before
" him, only out of and according to the written
" word of God, and no otherwise, so determining of
" them, as he should find in his conscience most
" agreeable to the Holy Scriptures; which oath was
" punctually agreed to be thus taken by the articles
" of the States, concerning the indiction and order-
" ing of the synod, as appears plainly in their tenth
" article; and this was all the oath that was either
" taken or required. And far was it from those

A. D. 1619. 17 James. " holy souls, which are now glorious in heaven, or " mine, (who still for some short time survive to " give this just witness of our sincere integrity,) to " entertain the least thought of any so foul corrup- " tion, as by any overruling power to be swayed to a " prejudgment in the points controverted.

" It grieves my soul, therefore, to see that any " learned divine should raise imaginary conjectures " to himself, of an interest and obligation of a fan- " cied oath, (working upon them, and drawing them " contrary to the dictation of their own conscience, " as it did Herod's in the case of John Baptist's " beheading,) merely out of his own comparative " construction of the different forms of expressing " themselves in managing those controversies; where- " in if at any time they seemed to speak nearer to " the tenet of the Remonstrants, it must be imputed " to their holy ingenuity and gracious disposition to " peace, and to no other sinister respect.

" Sir, since I have lived to see so foul an aspersion " cast upon the memory of those worthy and eminent " divines, I bless God that I yet live to vindicate " them by this my knowing, clear, and assured at- " testation; which I shall be ready to second with " the solemnest oath if I shall be thereto required.

" Your much devoted friend, precessor,
" and fellow labourer,
" JOS. HALL, B. N."

" Higham, August 30, 1651."

Let the reader consider with himself how the suggester speaks by hearsay of things done at distance whereat himself not present, whose disaffection to the decisions of that synod inclines him to

credit ill reports against it. And yet, as afraid, though willing to speak out, in his methinks I see, vents but his own conjectural surmises. Let him also weigh in the balance of his judgment how this purgation of this synod is positive and punctual, from one an ear and eyewitness thereof, being such an one as doctor Hall, and now aged, so that his *testimonium* herein may seem *testamentum*, his witness his will, and the truth therein delivered a legacy by him bequeathed to posterity. I say, the premises seriously considered, let the reader proceed to sentence as God and his conscience shall direct him; and either condemn a private person of slander and falsity, or a whole synod of injustice and perjury. A. D. 1619. 17 James.

8. My desire to make this history of the synod entire, hath made me omit the death of James Montague, the worthy bishop of Winchester, who left this life the last year; son to sir Edward Montague of Boughton in Northamptonshire, bred in Christ's, afterwards master of Sidney college in Cambridge, highly favoured by king James, (whose works he set forth,) preferring him to the bishopric first of Bath and Wells, then to Winchester: in Bath he lies buried under a fair tomb, though the whole church be his monument, which his bounty repaired, or rather raised out of the ruins thereof. One passage at his burial I must not forget, having received it from the mouth of his younger brother, sir Sidney Montague, present at his funeral solemnities. The death of bishop Montague.

9. A certain officer of Bath church, being a very corpulent man, was upon the day of the bishop's burial appointed to keep the doors: he entered on this his employment in the morning whereon the funeral was kept, but was buried himself before A strange accident at his burial.

A. D. 1619. 17 James.

night, and before the bishop's body was put into the ground, because being bruised to death by the pressing in of people, his corpse required speedy interment; so needful it is for those to watch for their own change who wait on the graves of others[q].

[q] [Dr. Mountague owed his rapid and early preferment not only to the nobleness of his family, but also to his own strenuous advocacy of the low church doctrines, so prevalent at Cambridge during this and the subsequent reign. Whilst master of Sydney college, to which he was appointed in 1598, he was noted for the encouragement which he gave to the puritan party, and for many years that house sent out ministers the most disaffected to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; as may be seen in Clarke's Lives of the Puritan Divines. He was first dean of Worcester, then dean of the chapel royal; then, in 1608, advanced to the see of Bath and Wells, and finally to Winchester in 1616. The last dignity he enjoyed but for a short time, dying about two years after, July 20, 1618, of a dropsy, at the somewhat early age of forty-nine. His influence with king James was very great, exceeding that of any prelate of his day; he directed or controlled most church matters whilst he lived, and according to Heylyn was the chief mover in the design of sending delegates to the synod of Dort, (Observations on L'Estrange's Charles I. p. 77.) using all his influence with the king to uphold and countenance their proceedings; and the king shewed his regard for him by intrusting to him the editorship of his royal productions. Yet notwithstanding his faults, (for although a puritan he was a potent courtier,) he was a learned, liberal, and munificent prelate, spending his large revenues first on his college, afterwards on the cathedrals over which he presided. At Wells he restored the beautiful chapel of bishop Joceline, which his predecessors had allowed to go to ruin; furnishing it at his own expense with organs, and ornaments, and various decorations; so that, as Godwin says, in his time it surpassed in beauty and magnificence almost all the chapels in England. To complete Bath abbey church, then being restored, he subscribed 1000*l.* and presented an exquisite pulpit of carved stone: to his college he left farms to the annual revenue of twenty marks; ornamented the walls of the chapel; and gave 100*l.* for bringing an aqueduct to Cambridge. (See Godwin, 390, 241. Wood's Ath. ii. 853.)

A scholar himself, he was a generous patron of scholars and learned men, among others, of no less a one than Casaubon. See Casaubon's Letters, p. 365, 373, 376, where the address of all the letters should be James, not Richard, Mountague.]

10. I cannot attain the exact date of the death of John Overall, carrying superintendency in his surname, the bishop of Norwich; first, fellow of Trinity college, then master of Katharine hall, and king's professor of divinity in Cambridge: one of a strong brain to improve his great reading, and accounted one of the most learned controversial divines of those days[r]. A. D. 1620. 18 James. The death of bishop Overall.

11. A grand grievance was now much complained of, but little redressed; some great courtiers there were to whom the king had passed his grants to compound with papists for their recusancy. Some of these A great abuse of the king's favour.

[r] [Overall was born at Hadleigh in Suffolk, and received his education at Cambridge. In 1596 he was chosen to succeed Whitaker as regius professor of divinity, and in 1602, by the interest of sir Fulke Greville, was appointed to the deanery of St. Paul's. In 1614, consecrated bishop of Coventry and Lichfield; and in 1618 translated to Norwich, in which place he died, May 12, 1619. See Kennet's MSS. DCCCCLXXXIII. p. 345. Though he left but little worthy of his great name and abilities, being actively engaged in the arduous duties of his various stations, yet he gave his assistance anonymously to several works which will last as long as the Church of England. To the Catechism of the Church of England he added that portion of it which relates to the sacraments; he was a chief instrument in the translation of the Bible; he assisted Dr. Mason in his work on the English Ordination; he was the author of the remarks on the Lambeth Articles, subjoined to Ellis' edition of the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England. But his chief influence was owing not only to his eminence as a divine, to his spotless character and surpassing abilities, but also to his temperate and consistent opposition to Whitaker, and the supralapsarian party at Cambridge. For he was undoubtedly the first who introduced a better system of divinity into both universities; and led the opinions of Bilson, Andrewes, Cosins, Montague, and those great divines who succeeded them. Nor was this influence confined to his own country; the most eminent foreigners sought his opinions and were guided by his judgment: Grotius, Casaubon, Vossius, and others, being his most constant correspondents. See their Letters among the Epistolæ Remonstrantium, p. 353, sq. and Casaubon's Letters, p. 365.]

A. D. 1620. 18 James. grantees abused the king's favour, and compounded with such persons for light sums, even before their legal conviction, whereby the offenders in that kind became the more backward to conform themselves to the king's laws, his majesty not aiming at their punishment but reformation: and although this indirect course was flatly forbidden by his royal declaration, set forth 1610, yet was this corruption connived at, and is conceived a main cause of the great and speedy increase of popery.

Archbishop casually killed a keeper.

12. About this time a sad mischance befell George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, in this manner: he was invited by the lord Zouch to Bramshill in Hampshire to hunt and kill a buck; the keeper ran amongst the herd of deer to bring them up to the fairer mark, whilst the archbishop, sitting on his horse back, let loose a barbed arrow from a crossbow and unhappily hit the keeper: he was shot through the enmontery of the left arm, and the arrow dividing those grand axillary vessels, he died of the flux of blood immediately[s]; nature having provided that all the large vessels are defended externally by bones. He never spake after, as the person, still alive at Croydon, who brought off his body informed me, and died, not of the ill dressing of the wound, as some have printed it[t]. This presently put an end to the sport of that day, and almost to the archbishop's mirth to the last of his life.

The mischance rigidly censured.

13. The fame of this man's death flew faster than the arrow that killed him; the archbishop's mischance in many men met not with so much pity as so sad a casualty did deserve: he was not much

[s] [See Heylyn's Life of Abp. Laud, p. 86.]

[t] [As Hacket, among others. Life of Williams, p. 65.]

beloved by the inferior clergy, as over rigid and austere; indeed, he was mounted to command in the church before he ever learnt to obey therein, made a shepherd of shepherds before he was a shepherd of sheep, consecrated bishop before ever called to a pastoral charge, "which made him," say some, "not to sympathise with the necessities and infirmi-"ties of poor ministers." As for the superior clergy, some for his irregularity and removal expected preferment, as the second bowl is made first, and the third second, when that nearest the mark is violently removed. A.D. 1620. 18 James.

14. It is strange to see how suddenly many men started up canonists and casuists in their discourse who formerly had small skill in that profession. In their ordinary talk they cited councils and synods; some had up St. Jerome's speech, *Venatorem nunquam legimus sanctum;* others were busy with the decree of the council of Orleans, (Gratian, 49 B. distinct. 34.) *Episcopum*[u], *presbyterum, aut diaconum canes ad venandum, aut accipitres habere non licet.* Others Many canonists quickly made.

[u] Note that these Canons were never admitted laws in England; [but Williams was of a different opinion. See his Letter to the duke of Buckingham, dated July 27, 1621, printed in the Cabala, p. 260, the original of which is now preserved among the Harleian MSS. No. 7000, 30. He says, "an unfortunate occasion of "my lord's grace, his killing of "a man casually, as it is here "constantly reported, is the "cause of my sending my yes-"terday's letter unto your lord-"ship. His grace, upon this "accident, is by the common "law of England to forfeit all "his estate unto his majesty, "and by the canon law, which "is in force with us, irregular "*ipso facto*, and so suspended "from all ecclesiastical func-"tion until he be again restor-"ed by his superior, which, I "take it, is the king's majesty, "in this rank and order of ec-"clesiastical jurisdiction.—— "To add affliction to the af-"flicted, as no doubt he is in "mind, is against the king's "nature; to have *virum san-"guinum*, or a man of blood, "primate and patriarch of all "his churches, is a thing that

A. D. 1620. 18 James.

distinguished of a threefold hunting: 1. *Oppressiva.* 2. *Arenaria.* 3. *Saltuosa.* These maintained that the two former were utterly unlawful, but the last might lawfully be used. Others distinguished of homicide: 1. *Ex necessitate.* 2. *Ex voluntate.* 3. *Ex casu:* the case in hand. In a word, this accident divided all great companies into *pro* and *con*, for or against the archbishop's irregularity on this occasion, yet all the force of their skill could not mount the guilt of this fact higher than the fountain thereof. When all was done, it was but casual homicide, who sought not for the man, but God was pleased to bring the man to his hand[x].

" sounds very harsh in the old " councils and canons of the " church. The papists will not " spare to descant upon the " one and the other." An apology for the archbishop was written by the celebrated sir Henry Spelman. See Reliq. Spelm. p. 105. The circumstance was much lamented by churchmen of all sorts, and the general opinion was that the archbishop should at least have withdrawn into retirement. As Hacket observes; " many of " our best advised churchmen " took it sore to heart, and " lamented for it, not without " bitter tears, for the scan- " dal which was fallen upon " our church in his person, " who, in the eye of general " councils and canon laws, was " wonderfully tainted, and made " uncapable of performing all " sacred functions. Therefore, " to come home to the case, they " said, *God forbid those hands* " *should consecrate bishops and* " *ordain priests, or administer* " *the sacraments of Christ,* " *which God out of his secret* " *judgments had thus permitted* " *to be imbrued in human blood.* " And some of the prelacy pro- " fessed, *if they had fallen into* " *the like mischance they would* " *never have despaired of God's* " *mercy for the other life, but* " *from this world they would* " *have retired, and besought his* " *majesty for a pension to sup-* " *port them in their sequestered* " *sadness, where they might* " *spend their days in fasting* " *and prayer.*" Life of Williams, p. 65. These were the sentiments, not of Williams only, but of many of the clergy.]

[x] [In order to determine the question respecting the archbishop's irregularity, and to settle men's minds, the king issued a commission, Oct. 3, 1621, to the lord keeper, Villiers, George Montaigne, bishop of London, Andrewes, bishop of Winchester, Buckeridge, bishop

15. Sir Henry Savill, the archbishop's old acquaintance, as his contemporary in Oxford, repaired on his behalf to the oracle of the law, sir Edward Coke, whom he found a bowling for his recreation. "My lord," said he, "I come to be satisfied of you "in a point of law." "If it be a point of common "law," said sir Edward Coke, "I am unworthy to "be a judge if I cannot presently satisfy you; but "if it be a point of statute law, I am unworthy "to be a judge if I should undertake to satisfy you "before I have consulted my books." "It is this," said sir Henry, "Whether may a bishop hunt in "a park by the laws of the realm?" "I can pre-"sently resolve you," said the judge; "he may hunt "by the laws of the realm by this very token, That "there is an old law," (let the young students in that profession find it out,) "that a bishop, when

A.D. 1620. 18 James.

Archbishops may hunt by the laws of the land.

of Rochester, Laud, of St. David's, Carew, bishop of Exeter, sir Henry Hobard, chief justice of the common pleas, justice Doddridge, sir Henry Martin, dean of the arches, and Dr. Steward, or any six of them, whereof the lord keeper, the bishops of London, Winton, and St. David's to be four, to examine the case and the scandal which might arise upon it; secondly, Whether it amounted to an irregularity: and lastly, What means might be taken to redress the same. Their answer was returned in favour of the archbishop, influenced principally, as it is said, by Andrewes. Upon which, the archbishop applying to the king, a commission was directed to John Williams, the bishop of Lincoln, George Montaigne, bishop of London, Lancelot Andrewes, bishop of Winchester, Samuel Harsnet, bishop of Norwich, Thomas Morton, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Arthur Lake, bishop of Bath and Wells, Nicholas Felton, bishop of Ely, George Carleton, bishop of Chichester, to grant the archbishop a dispensation in form. This commission was issued upon 22nd of November, and the dispensation upon the 12th of December following, 1621. See Wilkins' Conc. iv. 462. Collier's Eccl. Hist. ii. 720, and Hacket's Life of Williams, p. 67, who gives the several opinions of each of the commissioners. All the papers relative to this trial are printed in Spelman's Reliquiæ, from archbishop Sancroft's Collections.]

A. D. 1620. 18 James. " dying, is to leave his pack of dogs" (called *muta*[y] *canum*) " to the king's free use and disposal."

Bishop Andrewes, the archbishop's great friend.

16. The party whom the archbishop suspected his greatest foe proved his most firm and effectual friend, even Lancelot Andrewes[z], bishop of Winchester: for when several bishops inveighed against the irregularity of the archbishop, laying as much (if not more) guilt on the act than it would bear, he mildly checked them: " Brethren," said he, " be not " too busy to condemn any for uncanonicals, accord- " ing to the strictness thereof, lest we render our- " selves in the same condition: besides, we all know, " *Canones, qui dicunt lapsos post actam pœnitentiam,* " *ad clericatum non esse restituendos, de rigore lo-* " *quuntur disciplinæ, non injiciunt desperationem in-* " *dulgentiæ.*"

His restitution and mortification.

17. King James being himself delighted in hunting, was sorry any ill accident should betide the users thereof; but when he was assured how deeply the archbishop laid this casualty to his heart, he much pitied him, and said to a lord discoursing thereof, " It might have been my chance or thine." So that not long after, the archbishop (who had lately retired himself to Guildford almshouse of his own founding) returned to Lambeth, and to the performance of his office; though some squeamish and nice-conscienced elects scrupled to be consecrated by him[a]. He gave during his own life twenty

[y] From the French *macte de chiens.*

[z] [See Howell's Letters, p. 123.]

[a] [There were four bishops elect at this time; Davenant of Salisbury, Carew of Exeter, Williams of Lincoln, Laud of St. David's. Davenant made no opposition to the archbishop, because he had been presented by Abbot to the rich parsonage of Cottenham, near Cambridge. " The other three, without Da- " venant," says Hacket, " stir- " red in it the most they could,

pounds a year to the man's widow, which was not long a widow, as quickly remarried. He kept a monthly fast on a Tuesday, as the day whereon this casualty befell; in a word, this keeper's death was the archbishop's mortification. A. D. 1620. 18 James.

18. At this time the king's exchequer grew very low, though Lionel Cranfield, lord treasurer and earl of Middlesex, neglected no means for the improving thereof[b]. In order whereunto, (reader, let this story pass into thy belief on my credit, knowing myself sufficiently assured thereof,) a projector (such necessary evils then much countenanced) informed his majesty of a way whereby speedily to advance much treasure. And how forsooth was it? Even that a new valuation should be made of all spiritual preferments, (which now in the king's books passed at underrates,) to bring them up to or near the full value thereof: this would promote both the casual A project against the clergy to get money.

" to decline this metropolitan's " consecration; not out of en- " mity or superstition, but to " be wary, that they might not " be attainted with the conta- " gion of his scandal and un- " canonical condition." Ibid. p. 66. Certainly, if, as was then generally thought, the archbishop's function was unsettled by this unfortunate act, it was not unreasonable that men, desirous of giving no advantage to the enemies of the Protestant religion, should have been scrupulous of receiving consecration from the archbishop.

These elects besought the king, that since they had declared their opinion that the archbishop was irregular, they might not be compelled to violate their consciences and receive consecration from the archbishop. In conformity with this request, the bishop of Lincoln was consecrated on the 11th of November, and the others on the 18th, by the bishops of London, Worcester, Ely, Oxford, and Llandaff. Hacket, ib. p. 68.]

[b] [But not unworthy means; since it is evident, from his MS. letters still preserved in the Bodleian and British Museum, that Cranfield was one of the most able ministers the king ever had, and owed his ruin principally to the odium which he brought upon himself in reforming the wardrobe, navy, and exchequer.]

A. D. 1620. 18 James. fines (as I may term them) of first-fruits and the annual rent of tenths, to the great advantage of the crown. The king sent to the lord treasurer demanding his judgment thereof.

Declined by the lord treasurer. 19. The treasurer returned his majesty an answer to this effect, so near as I can remember from the mouth of a noble person then present: "Sir, you "have ever been beheld as a great lover and ad- "vancer of learned men, and you know clergymen's "education is chargeable to them, or their friends; "long it is before they get any preferment, which "at last generally is but small in proportion to their "pains and expenses. Let it not be said that you "gained by grinding them; other ways less ob- "noxious to just censure will be found out to fur- "nish your occasions." The king commended Cranfield, (as doing it only for trial,) adding moreover, "I should have accounted thee a very knave if "encouraging me herein;" and so the project was blasted for the present, as it was when it budded again, propounded by some unworthy instrument, in the reign of king Charles.

Who is truly excused. 20. I know some will suspect the treasurer more likely to start than crush so gainful a design, as who by all ways and means sought to increase the royal revenue. I know also that some accuse him as if making his master's wings to moult, thereby the better to feather his own nest. Indeed, he raised a fair estate, and surely he will never be a good steward for his master who is a bad one for himself. Yet on due and true inquiry it will appear, that though an high power did afterwards prosecute him, yet his innocence in the main preserved him to transmit a good estate to his posterity; so that

much of truth must be allowed in his motto, *Perdidit fides* [c], he was lost at court for his fidelity to king James, in sparing his treasure, and not answering the expensiveness of a great favourite [d]. A. D. 1620. 18 James.

[c] Frequent in his house at Copthall.

[d] [The disgrace of treasurer Cranfield, which happened in the early part of 1624, is one of the many inexplicable and mysterious passages of this king's reign. Johnston, Weldon, and Wilson, and the rest of our historians who have blindly followed those bell-wethers of calumny, scruple not to blacken the treasurer with the most virulent defamation, and represent his guilt as certain and notorious. Upon what evidence it is hard to say, and indeed the independent testimony of these writers, particularly of the two latter, is so utterly worthless as to be wholly unworthy of credit. Fuller seems justly to have suspected the truth, that the treasurer's greatest fault was his opposition to some great ones; and in this he is supported by the testimony of lord Clarendon, who attributes Cranfield's ruin to the jealousy and enmity of the duke of Buckingham. During the duke's absence in Spain, the treasurer (as he observes, Reb. I. 39.) "was not only negligent "in the issuing out such sums "of money as were necessary "for the defraying those un-"limited expenses, and to cor-"respond with him with that "deference he had used to do, "but had the courage to dis-"pute his commands, and to "appeal to the king, whose ear "was always inclined to him. "Of all this the duke could "not be without ample infor-"mation, as well from his own "creatures, who were near "enough to observe, as from "others; who, caring for nei-"ther of them, were more scan-"dalized at so precipitate a "promotion of a person of such "an education [he having been "bred a merchant] and whom "they had long known so much "their inferior, though it could "not be denied that he filled "the places he held with great "ability." The duke accordingly, having resolved to crush him, procured some leading members of the house to impeach the earl, and notwithstanding he made so good a defence, "that," as the same noble historian observes, "he "was absolved from any noto-"rious crime by the impartial "opinion of many of those "who heard all the evidence," yet he was condemned to a long and strict imprisonment during the king's pleasure, incapacitated for sitting in parliament for life, a clause as severe as it was illegal; and sentenced to pay a fine of 50,000*l.* These observations are supported by Hacket in his life of Williams, p. 189, who observes, in the conclusion of his narrative, "so "the treasurer suffered dis-"honour, or rather the cala-"mity of a censure; himself "was so comforted to his dy-

A. D. 1620. 18 James. The lord Bacon outed for bribery.

21. A parliament was called, wherein Francis Bacon, lord chancellor, was outed his office for bribery; the frequent receiving thereof by him or his was plainly proved: yet for all his taking, just and unjust, he was exceedingly poor, and much indebted. Wherefore, when motion was made in the house of commons of fining him some thousand of pounds, a noble member standing up desired that for two reasons his fine might be mitigated into forty shillings: first, because that would be paid, whereas a greater sum would only make a noise, and never be paid; secondly, the shame would be the greater, when such his prodigality, that he, who had been so large a taker in his office, was reduced to such penury that forty shillings should be conceived a sufficient fine for his estate. But it was fine enough for him to lose his office, remitted to a mean and private condition.

Sir Fr. S.

An essay at his character.

22. None can character him to the life save himself; he was in parts more than a man, who in any liberal profession might be whatsoever he would himself: a great honourer of ancient authors, yet a great deviser and practiser of new ways in learning. Privy counsellor as to king James so to nature itself, diving into many of her abstruse mysteries: new conclusions he would dig out with mattocks of gold and silver, not caring what his experience cost him, expending on the trials of nature all and more than he got by the trials at the bar; posterity being the better for his, though he the worse for his own

" ing hour; as the engraved " posy spake his thoughts in " his great chamber at Copt " Hall in Essex.

" Quæ venit immerito pœna dolenda venit.

" And I spake with few, when " it was recent, that were con- " tented with it, except the " members of the house, who " would not dislike their own " action."]

dear experiments. He and his servants had all in common, the men never wanting what their master had, and thus what came flowing in unto him was sent flying away from him, who in giving of rewards knew no bounds but the bottom of his own purse. Wherefore when king James heard that he had given ten pounds to an under keeper by whom he had sent him a buck, the king said merrily, "I and he shall "both die beggars," which was condemnable prodigality in a subject. He lived many years after, and in his books will ever survive; in the reading whereof modest men commend him in what they do, condemn themselves in what they do not understand, as believing the fault in their own eyes and not in the object. A. D. 1620. 18 James.

23. All stood expecting who should be Bacon's successor in the chancery: sure he must be some man of great and hig habilities, (otherwise it would seem a valley next a mountain,) to maintain a convenient and comely level in that eminent place of judicature. Now whilst in common discourse some made this judge, others that sergeant, lord chancellor, king James made Dr. Williams, lately (and still) dean of Westminster[e], soon after bishop of Lincoln. Though the king was the principal, the duke of Buckingham was more than the instrumental advancer of him to the title of lord keeper, in effect, the same in place and power with the lord chancellor. Bishop Williams made lord keeper.

24. The king's choice produced not so much dislike as general wonder; yet some cavilled at doctor Williams his age[f], as if it were preposterous for one Some causelessly offended.

[e] [Hacket's Life of Williams, p. 52.]

[f] [Most absurdly; for he was thirty-nine when he had this honour conferred upon him. See Hacket's Life of

A. D. 1620. 18 James. to be able for that office before ancient, and as if one old enough for a bishop were too young for a chancellor. Others questioned his abilities for the place[g]. Could any expect to reap law where it was never sown? who can apply the remedy whilst he is ignorant in the malady? Being never bred to know the true grounds and reasons of the common law, how could he mitigate the rigour thereof in difficult cases? He would be prone to mistake the severity of the common law for cruelty, and then unequal equity and unconscionable conscience must be expected from him. Besides, the place was proper not for the plain but guarded gown, and the common lawyers prescribed for six[h] descents (a strong title

Williams, p. 57. It was vacant in May, by the disgrace of Bacon, but the great seal was not actually delivered to Williams till July 10. See the speech which he made on that occasion. Hacket, ibid. p. 61.]

[g] [Clarendon is also somewhat severe upon Williams, observing that "though a man "of great wit and good scho- "lastic learning, he was gene- "rally thought so very unequal "to the place, that his remove "was the only recompense and "satisfaction that could be "made for his promotion. And "yet it was enough known that "the disgrace proceeded only "from the private displeasure "of the duke of Buckingham." Rebel. i. p. 81. But according to Hacket, who makes us think well of Williams, often in spite of our convictions to the contrary, the dean had studied the law under the direction of chancellor Egerton. "And even "hard upon the day of his "death, which was Mart. 15, "the chancellor called him to "him and told him, *If he want-* "*ed money, he would leave him* "*such a legacy in his will, as* "*should furnish him to begin* "*the world like a gentleman.* "*Sir,* says the chaplain, *I kiss* "*your hands; you have filled* "*my cup full; I am far from* "*want, unless it be of your lord-* "*ship's directions how to live* "*in the world, if I survive you.* "*Well,* says the chancellor, *I* "*know you are an expert work-* "*man, take these tools to work* "*with, they are the best I have;* "and he gave him some books "and papers written all with "his own hand." Life of Williams, p. 30. See also Hacket's defence of the Clergy for taking secular employments, Ib. p. 55.]

[h] Yet sir Ch. Hatton was never bred a lawyer.

indeed) wherein only men of their robe were advanced thereunto. A. D. 1620. 18 James.

25. Yet some of these altered their judgments when considering his education, who for many years had been house chaplain (yea, and more than chaplain, intimate friend servant) to the old lord Egerton, who understood the chancellor craft as well as any who ever sat in that place, and who whilst living imparted many mysteries of that court, when dying bequeathed many choice books and directions unto him. His parts were eminent, who could make any thing he read or heard his own, and could improve any thing which was his own to the utmost. Besides, for a clergyman to be lord chancellor was no usurpation, but a recovery, seeing ecclesiastics anciently were preferred to that place; and sir Nicholas Bacon (father to the last chancellor) received the broad seal from a churchman, viz. Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York. His eminent abilities.

26. Considering all disadvantages, he managed the office to admiration: I know it is reported by his adversaries to his discredit, that never lord keeper made so many orders which afterwards were reversed, which whether true or no, I know not[1]. Sure it is, that unpartial men of the best and clearest judgments highly commended him, and Judge Yelverton Well manages the place.

[1] [Yet Hacket says, that "neither king James, king "Charles, nor any parliament, "which gave due hearing to "the frowardness of some com- "plaints, did ever appoint that "any of his orders should be "reversed," Ibid. p. 57. And again, speaking of Williams' successor, the lord keeper Coventry, he says, "it is a slander "whereof late writers are very "rank in all kinds, which one "hath published, that this "man's successor, the lord Co- "ventry, reversed many of his "decrees and corrected his "errors." He then mentions an anecdote of chief justice Hobart in confirmation of this. Life of Williams, p. 200.]

A. D. 1620. 18 James. himself, hearing him in a case of concernment, ingenuously professed, "This is a most admirable man." Here he sat in the office so long, till disdaining to be a dependent (as a pent-house) on the duke's favour, and desiring to stand an absolute structure on his own foundation at court, he fell, as, God willing, shall in due time be related.

A still-born convocation. 27. Should we now look into the convocation, we should find them on Wednesdays and Fridays devoutly at the Litany, otherwise having little employment, as empowered by no commission to alter any thing; so that sitting amongst the tombs in Westminster church, they were (as once one of their prolocutors said) *viva cadavera inter mortuos*, as having no motion or activity allowed unto them.

Young Meric Casaubon vindicates his father from railers. 28. About this time Meric Casaubon set forth a book in defence of his deceased father, against whom many had spit their venom[k]. First, Heribert Rosweyde, a Jesuit; and after him Andrew Scioppius, a renowned railer; one that is always incensed against learning and honesty, wheresoever he finds them severally, but implacable against such a man in whom both meet together. It seems it is his policy thus to seek to perpetuate his memory by railing against eminent persons, hoping that he shall jointly survive with their worth; whereas their light shall burn bright when his snuff shall be trodden under foot. Then Julius[l] Cæsar Bullinger, and Andrew Eudæmon Joannes, a vizard name[m], composed to

[k] [Entitled "Pietas contra "maledicos patrum nominis, "&c." Lond. 1621. 12°. Reprinted among Is. Casaubon's Letters, Roterod. 1709. fol.]

[l] [Alegambe, ibid. p. 530.]

[m] [Alegambe, ib. p. 49. This is his real name. He was a native of Crete.]

fright fools and make wise men laugh at it [n]. Yea, though he had formerly met with a quaternion of learned confuters, bishop Abbot, doctor Prideaux, doctor Collins, master Burrhill; young Casaubon, then student in Christchurch, thought it his duty farther to assert his father's memory, and to give a brief account of his life and conversation. A. D. 1620. 18 James.

29. This is the benefit of learned men's marriage, God oftentimes so blessing it, that they need not go out of themselves for a champion to defend them, but have one springing from their own bowels. And his son, though by reason of his age low in himself, is tall when standing on the advantage-ground of his father's grave, whose memory he is to maintain; yea, God seems so well pleased with his piety, that his endeavours took such effect that no railing libels to that purpose came forth afterwards, which formerly had been so frequent; whether because these curs, weary of their own barking, did even sneak away in silence, or because they had no more mind to challenge, seeing a defendant provided to undertake them. The good effect of his endeavours.

30. Upon the removal of Richard Milborne to Carlisle [o], William Laud, president of St. John's college in Oxford, was made bishop of St. David's [p], of whom, because every one speaks so much, I will [q] William Laud bp. of St. David's.

[n] [For the different tracts referred to, see Alegambe, p. 334.]

[o] [May 15, 1621. "The "bishop of Carlisle died upon "Tuesday last; who is likely "to succeed him, as yet, I hear "not. The bishopric of Lon- "don stands still as it did: the "speech now runs that the "dean of Westminster [Wil- "liams] is unwilling to accept "[it]; and rather desires to "hold some smaller bishopric "together with his deanery." Davenant to Ward. Tanner's MSS. lxxiii. p. 25.]

[p] [10th July.]

[q] When I wrote this, I intended to close my history at king James his death, since by importunity urged to continue it farther.

A. D. 1620. 18 James

say the less[r]; the rather, because at this time, and during the extent of our history, this bishop lived in a private way, bare no great stream, as being before that the tide of greatness flowed in upon him; yea, as yet he took more notice of the world than the world did of him. Indeed, as the matter whereof china dishes are made must lie some ages in the earth before it is ripened to perfection, so great persons are not fit for an historian's use to write freely of them till some years after their decease, when their memories can neither be marred with envy nor mended with flattery: however, his good deeds to St. John's college in Oxford must not be forgotten; yea, that whole university (if afraid in English to speak in praise of his bounty) will adventure with safety to commend him in the Arabic tongue, whereof he founded them a professor[s].

31. This year was fatal to many eminent clergy-

[r] [Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 86.]

[s] [Laud, with that honesty and integrity which characterised all his actions, resigned the presidentship of St. John's upon his appointment to the bishopric of St. David's, although the king gave him leave to hold it in commendam. And this favor from the king is a sufficient proof how much Hacket must have misrepresented the way in which Laud obtained his appointment; as if it had been procured through the mediation of Williams, (for so he would have it,) when the king was at the time extremely incensed against Laud. Much had been done by Laud's unrelenting adversary, archbishop Abbot, to bring him under the king's displeasure, (see Laud's Diary). But it is certain that the king in various way shewed a personal regard for him; in hearing his cause respecting the presidentship of St. John's; in appointing him his chaplain, and giving him the deanery of Gloucester; in taking Laud with him into Scotland. And we have direct proof of the same from the entries made in the Diary about a month before the vacancy of the see of St. David's, June 3rd, 1621, "The king's gracious "speech unto me, concerning "my long service. He was "pleased to say, he had given "me nothing but Gloucester, "which he well knew was a

men, besides others of inferior note. We begin with John King, bishop of London, formerly dean of Christ Church, who died on Good Friday of the stone[t]: of ancient extraction, *in cujus genere vel indole nihil reperio mediocre, nihil quod non præcellens*, descended (saith the Survey of London[u]) from the Saxon kings in Devonshire by his father, Philip King, sometimes page to king Henry the VIIIth, nephew and heir to Robert King, last abbot of Osney, and first bishop of Oxford, who left him a great personal estate, which it seems was quickly consumed, so that this prelate used to say, "he "believed there was a fate in abbey money no less "than abbey land, which seldom proved fortunate "or of continuance to the owners."

A. D. 1620. 18 James. John King, bishop of London, dies.

32. He was chaplain to queen Elizabeth, and as he was appointed by her council to preach the first sermon at court when her body lay inhearsed in the chapel of Whitehall, so was he designed for the first sermon to her successor, king James, at Charterhouse, when he entered London, then sworn his first chaplain; who commonly called him "the "King of preachers." And sir Edward Coke would say of him, "he was the best speaker in Star "Chamber in his time." Soon after he was made

His eminencies.

"shell without a kernel." That Williams should have interested himself for Laud in this preferment is not improbable, since there was a general expectation that Laud should have been made dean of Westminster and not bishop of St. David's; and Williams, at this time appointed bishop of Lincoln, was moving seas and mountains to keep that deanery for himself. (See Hacket's Life of Williams, p. 62.) This is not the only instance I suspect where the wily lord keeper has imposed upon the simplicity of his simple, unsuspecting and generally kind-hearted biographer.]

[t] [March 30. See Henry King's Serm. p. 67 sq.]

[u] [By Stowe,] p. 775.

A. D. 1621. 19 James. dean of Christ Church, Oxon[x]; and chosen one of the four preachers in the conference at Hampton Court; then advanced to the bishopric of London, where he let the world see his high place of government did not cause him to forget his office in the pulpit, shewing by his example that a bishop might govern and preach too: in which service he was so frequent, that unless hindered by want of health, he omitted no Sunday whereon he did not visit some pulpit in London or near it.

A loud lie. 33. The papists raised an aspersion as false as foul upon him; that at his death he was reconciled to the church of Rome, sufficiently confuted by those eye and ear witnesses present at his pious departure[y]. These slanders are no news to such as have read

[x] [He was made dean of Christ Church in 1605, and bishop of London, 1611. See Wood's Ath. ii. p. 294.]

[y] [The Romanists gave out that before his death he was reconciled to their church, and to make it more readily credited, one Muskett, a secular priest, wrote and published an anonymous book, entitled, "The Bishop of London his "legacy, or certain motives of "Dr. King, late bishop of Lon-"don, for his change of reli-"gion, and dying in the Ca-"tholic and Roman church. "With a conclusion to his "brethren the Lords Bishops "of England." Permissu Superiorum, 1623. 4°. This is apparently the third edition of it; unless it be a fictitious titlepage. For Gee, in a tract printed at the end of his forementioned book, entitled "A "Gentle Excuse to Mr. Mus-"kett," &c. p. 100, mentions this work as having already been reprinted the third time. The Bishop's memory was cleared in "A Sermon, upon John xv. 20, "preached at Paul's Crosse, the "25th of November, 1621, "upon occasion of that false "and scandalous report, lately "printed, touching the sup-"posed apostasy of the Right "Revd. Father in God, John "King, late Lord Bishop of "London, by Henry King, his "eldest son, [afterwards bishop "of Chichester]. Whereunto "is annexed the Examination "and answer of Thomas Pres-"ton P. taken before my lord's "grace of Canterbury touching "this scandal. Published by "authority at London, &c. "1621." 4°. (Dedicated to Pr. Charles.) See also Gee's "Foot "out of the Snare," p. 81.]

how Luther is traduced by popish pens to have died blaspheming; Carlostadius to have been carried quick by a devil; and Beza to have apostated before his death; in all which truth hath triumphed over their malicious forgeries. Something bishop King endeavoured in the repairing of St. Paul's; but alas, a private man's estate may be invisibly buried under the rubbish of the least chapel therein. By order in his will he provided that nothing should be written on his plain grave-stone, save only *Resurgam;* and still he is alive, both in his memory and happy posterity [z]. George Mountain, bishop of Lincoln, succeeded him in his see; who, when his great housekeeping and magnificent entertaining of king James shall be forgotten, will longer survive for his bountiful benefaction to Queen's college in Cambridge, whereof he was fellow and proctor.

A. D. 1621. 19 James.

Born at Thame in Oxfordshire. (?)

34. Secondly, William Cotton, bishop of Exeter, born in Cheshire, formerly archdeacon of Lewes; one of a stout spirit, and a great maintainer of conformity against the opposers thereof in his diocese. Valentine Carew, dean of St. Paul's, and master of Christ college in Cambridge, of a courtlike carriage and stout spirit, succeeded him in Exeter, which place can give the best account of his behaviour therein.

William Cotton, bp. of Exeter, dies, whom Valentine Carew succeeds.

35. Thirdly, Robert Townson, born in Cambridge, fellow of Queen's college, dean of Westminster, of a comely carriage, courteous nature, an excellent preacher: he left his wife and many children neither

Robert Townson, bp. of Salisbury, dies, whom John Davenant succeeds.

[z] ["He commanded in his "will his body to be buried in "the cathedral church of St. "Paul, without any pomp or "solemnities, only with a tomb-"stone with this inscription— "*Resurgam.*" Henry King's Sermon, p. 71.]

A. D. 1621. 19 James. plentifully provided for, nor destitute of maintenance, which rather hastened than caused the advancement of John Davenant, his brother-in-law, to succeed him in the bishopric of Salisbury [a].

The death of Dr. Andrew Willet.

36. Therein also expired Andrew Willet doctor of divinity, (godson to Andrew Pearne, dean of Ely, where he was born,) brought up in Christ college in Cambridge, who ended his pious life, being much bruised with a fall from his horse [b]. A man of no little judgment and greater industry, not unhappy in controversies, but more happy in comments, and one that had a large soul in a narrow estate. For his charge being great (may his children remember and practise their father's precepts) and means small, as more proportioned to his desires than deserts; he was bountiful above his ability, and doubled what he gave by cheerful giving it. He was buried in his parish at Barley in Hertfordshire. Happy village!

[a] [Sir. "I acquainted no man "with the cause of my sudden "journey, but I make no ques- "tion but by this it is too "well known. Upon Monday "last there came a messenger "bringing me the heavy tidings "of my lord of Salisbury's dan- "gerous sickness. I presently "set out, and was here the next "morning by eight of clock, "but he was departed an hour "before. His disease was a "hot pestilential ague. Upon "Saturday he was at the par- "liament house, but felt him- "self distempered when he "came home. That very night "it was so violent that they had "much ado to keep life in him: "the next day his head was out "of temper, but the rest of his "body more at ease than be- "fore. Upon Monday morn- "ing, being out of pain and "cheerful, he found an incli- "nation to sleep; and falling "into a short slumber, pre- "sently after he departed this "life. * * * * * "It hath pleased the marquis "and many other honourable "personages to send comfort- "able messages unto my afflict- "ed sister, with promise to "move his majesty that some "special regard may be had of "her and her many fatherless "children." Davenant to Ward. May 18, 1621. Tanner's MSS. lxxiii. p. 26.]

[b] [Dec. 4th. 1621. See the account of his life and death in Fuller's Abel Red. p. 565.]

which lost such a light, and yet was not left in darkness; only exchanging blessings, reverend doctor Brownrigg succeeding him. A. D. 1621. 19 James.

37. Nor must we forget Richard Parry, doctor of divinity, bishop of Asaph, who this year exchanged this life for a better. He was first bred in Christ Church in Oxford, where he made plentiful proceeding in learning and religion, and thence was advanced to the deanery of Bangor, on whom bishop Godwin bestows this (call it compliment or) character: [c] *Cui eruditione, cæterisque episcopalibus virtutibus utinam egomet tam illi essem æqualis, quam ille mihi ætate, studiorumque academicorum tempore locoque.* And of Dr. Richard Parry.

38. We conclude this year with the death of master Francis Mason [d], to whose worthy book, *De Ministerio Anglicano*, we have been so much beholding. Nor will it be amiss to insert his epitaph: The death of Mr. Fr. Mason.

Prima Deo cui cura fuit sacrare labores,
Cui studium sacris invigilare libris;
Ecce sub hoc tandem requievit marmore MASON,
Expectans Dominum speque fideque suum[e].

He was born in the bishopric of Durham, brought up in the university of Oxford, bachelor of divinity, fellow of Merton college, chaplain to king James, rector of Orford in Suffolk [f], where he lies buried, and where he built the parsonage house. He had three children by his loving wife Elizabeth, who erected a fair monument to his memory.

[c] Godwin De Præsul. [643.]
[d] [Dec. 1621.]
[e] [See Wood's Ath. ii. p. 509.]
[f] [And finally installed archdeacon of Norfolk, 18th Dec. 1619.]

SECT. VI.

TO

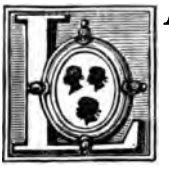
SAMUEL MICO[a],

OF LONDON, ALDERMAN.

You have not spent, but laid out much time in Italy, to the great improvement of your judgment and estate: how cunning chapmen those countrymen are in buying and selling is not to you unknown; but this section presents you with an Italian cardinal, a most crafty broker in matters of religion, till at last he deceived himself. Peruse it I pray, and if the reading thereof can add nothing to your knowledge, the writing of it may serve as my acknowledgment of your favours received.

A. D. 1622. 20 James.

The causes of Spalato's coming over.



ATELY[b] we made mention of the coming over of Marcus Antonius de Dominis, the archbishop of Spalato, into England, and now shall prosecute that subject at large; for this year began happily, because with the end of that arrant *apostata* in this land, and his fair riddance out of the limits thereof. He had fourteen years been archbishop of Spalato, in Dalmatia, under the state of Venice, and

[a] [Arms. Or, three moors' heads couped, side-faced sable, filleted round the temples argent. The widow of sir Samuel Mico (for he was afterwards knighted) founded the Mercers' almshouses in Ratcliffe. Lyson's Environs, iii. p. 473.]

[b] Vide supra, p. 443.

some five years since, to wit, 1616, came over into England. Conscience in show and covetousness in deed caused his coming hither. He pretended to have discovered innumerable[c] novelties and pernicious errors in the court of Rome, injuriously engrossing the right and honour of the universal church. He complained, many points were obtruded on men's consciences, as articles of faith, which Christ in the scripture never instituted. He accounted the Romish church mystical[d] Babylon, and Sodom; and the pope, Nimrod, a tyrant, schismatic, heretic, yea, even [e]Antichrist himself. But that which sharpened his pen against the pope was a particular grudge against pope Paul, who had ordered him to pay a yearly pension of five hundred crowns out of his bishopric to one Andreutius, a suffragan bishop, which this archbishop refused to do, complaining, it was unjust, and imposed without his knowledge and consent. The matter is brought to the rota, or court of Rome, where the wheel went on the wrong side, for our Spalato, who, angry that he was cast in his cause, posts out of Italy, through Germany, into the Low Countries[f]. Here he stayed a while, and

A. D. 1622. 20 James.

[c] In his book called "Consilium Profectionis," pp. 15—17. [An English translation of this book will be found in Somers' Tracts, vol. ii. p. 19.]

[d] Ibid. p. 34.

[e] Ibid. p. 76.

[f] [So Crakenthorpe, Def. Eccles. Anglic. p. 3. From whom this account of Spalato is principally derived. Hacket says, "he had incensed pope "Paul by defending the Ve- "netian cause against him." Life of Williams, p. 100. The same seems to be indicated in a pamphlet written against his "Consilium reditus," by John Floyd, a Jesuit, under the following title and name; "Syn- "opsis Apostasiæ Marci Ant. "de Dominis, &c. Auctore Fi- "deli Annoso Verimontano "theologo," Antv. 1617. See p. 12. The same writer says, "that De Dominis was com- "pelled to flee." p. 17. See Alegambe, Bibliotheca, p. 449.]

A. D. 1622. 20 James. tampered for preferment, till finding the roof of their church too low for his lofty thoughts, and their presbyterian government uncomplying with his archiepiscopal spirit, he left the Netherlands and came over into England.

His bountiful entertainment. 2. It is almost incredible, what flocking of people there was to behold this old archbishop, now a new convert; prelates and peers presented him with gifts of high valuation. Indeed, it is an humour of our English strangely to admire strangers, believing invisible perfections in them above those of our land. A quality commendable in our countrymen, whilst inclining them to hospitality, but sometimes betraying their credulity to be thereby dangerously deluded. He was feasted wheresoever he came, and the universities (when he visited them) addressed themselves to him in their solemn reception, as if he himself alone had been an university[g].

He is richly preferred by king James. 3. But above all, king James (whose hands were seldom shut to any, and always open to men of merit) was most munificent unto him, highly rejoicing that Rome had lost, and England got, such a jewel. How many of English youth were tolled out of our universities into Italy, and there taught treason and heresy together. This aged prelate, of eminent parts, coming thence of his own accord, would make us plentiful reparation for the departure of many novices. The king consigned him to the archbishop of Canterbury[h] for his present entertainment, till he might be accommodated to subsist of himself; and, as an earnest of his bounty, sent him to Lambeth a fair bason and bowl of silver.

[g] [Hacket's Life of Williams, pp. 31, 36.] [h] [George Abbot.]

which Spalato received with this compliment, *Misit mihi rex Magnæ Britanniæ polubrum argenteum ad abstergendas sordes Romanæ ecclesiæ, et poculum argenteum ad imbibendam evangelii puritatem:* "The "king of Great Britain hath sent me a silver bason "to wash from me the filth of the Roman church, "and a silver cup to mind me to drink the purity of "the gospel." Preferment is quickly found out and conferred upon him; as the deanery of Windsor, (though founded not in a cathedral but collegiate church,) one of the genteelest and entirest dignities of the land, the mastership of the hospital of the Savoy, with a good parsonage at West Ilsley in Berkshire, being a peculiar belonging to the episcopal jurisdiction of the dean of Windsor[i]; and, finding one precedent in his predecessor, he collated this parsonage on himself, and there made shift for so much English as sufficed him to read the Nine and Thirty Articles, (as an [k]auditor there present hath informed me,) which formerly he had subscribed. Thus had he two houses furnished above plenty, even unto magnificence, and might alternately exchange society for privacy at pleasure. A.D. 1622. 20 James.

4. He improved the profit of his places to the utmost, and had a design to question all his predecessors' leases at the Savoy, and began to be very His great avarice.

[i] [The deanery of Windsor and mastership of the Savoy were together worth 800*l.* per annum. Hacket's Williams, p. 98. The mastership of the Savoy was confirmed to him by a grant from the king dated March 26, 1618, exemplified in Rymer, xvii. 79=vii. 56. and the deanery of Windsor on the 13th of May following. See Rymer, ib. 88=62.]

[k] Mr. Cæsar Calendrine minister of the Dutch church. [Montague, in the Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to his Treatise concerning the Invocation of Saints, printed in 1624, states the same thing, being also present at the time.]

A. D. 1622. 20 James. vexatious to his tenants. Some of them repaired to doctor King, bishop of London, who, at their request, took Spalato to task, and as gravely as sharply reproved him; that, being a foreigner, he would fall out with natives, endeavouring to put others here out of their peaceable possessions, who himself had fled hither for his own refuge; especially, having professed in print, "That he had deposed all [l]affection to, and gust of earthly things; and that he "himself, being almost naked, did follow a [m]naked "Christ." Hereupon, at the reverend bishop's admonition, he let fall his former design. But it was not the counsel of this King, but of a greater king, which deterred him from this project, viz. king James himself, to whom Spalato complained, "That "the lands of the Savoy were let out for little rents "to the great loss of his place, and poor therein," (not that he cared for the poor, but bare the bag and what was put into it,) acquainting his majesty with his intent to rectify those abuses, and call those leases into question. To whom the king in some choler, *Extraneus, extraneus es, relinque res sicut eas invenisti*, "You are a stranger; you are "a stranger; leave things as you found them!" and yet the same man would very passionately persuade others to bounty to the poor, though he would give nothing himself: witness his earnest moving the chapter of Windsor in this kind, to whom one of the prebendaries answered, *Qui suadet, sua det*, "Let "him that persuades others, give something of his "own[n]."

[l] [Preface to his Works,] De Repub. Eccl. §. 6.

[m] Sor. pri. p. 191.

[n] [The same anecdote is related in Fuller's Mixt Contemplations, §. xix.]

5. I am also credibly informed from an excellent hand, of the truth of this story. Spalato had found a small flaw in a lease of value which a gentlewoman of quality held of the dean and chapter of Windsor. To her house he comes with all his men, where she magnificently entertains him, as overjoyed that her chief landlord came so courteously to visit her. Spalato next morning, after his plentiful supper, having settled himself in the parlour, suddenly cries out, *Abscedite omnes; abscedite!* "Be ye all gone; "be ye gone!" intending to take possession for himself. The gentlewoman perceiving him at this posture, with herself and servants well favouredly thrust him out of her house, coming off with sufficient disgrace. Afterwards, consulting the learned in our laws about the lease, they told him, "that though "possibly he might get the better of her in the "common law, yet the chancery would relieve her, "who so dearly had bought, so truly had paid for, "and so peaceably had possessed her estate therein." "Fie for shame!" saith Spalato, "are your English "laws so contrived, that what is done by one court "may be undone by another?" This may suffice to evidence his avarice: nor must it be forgotten, though he pretended, at his coming over, that for conscience he freely left his archbishopric of Spalato, that in very deed he resigned the same to his nephew, conditionally to pay him an annual pension out of it; *Sed magnus nebulo nil solvit;* "But the "great knave pays me nothing;" as he himself complained to my reverend friend the archbishop of Armagh.

A. D. 1622. 20 James. Another instance of his ungrateful covetousness.

6. He falls now to perfect his books: for his works were not now composed but corrected; not

His learned writings against Romish error.

A. D. 1622. 20 James.

compiled but completed; as being, though of English birth, of Italian conception. For formerly the collections were made by him at Spalato, but he durst not make them public for fear of the inquisition. His works (being three fair folios, De Republica Ecclesiastica,) give ample testimony of his sufficiency [o]. Indeed, he had a controversial head with

[o] [The briefest and yet most comprehensive account of this work, which is full of research and displays great knowledge of antiquity, may best be given in the author's own words prefixed to the first volume. "In "his X. de Rep. Ecclesiastica "libris, verum et proprium "Ecclesiæ regimen, quale a "Christo fuit institutum, ab "Apostolis, apostolicisque viris "usurpatum, a sanctis Patri- "bus traditum, a Conciliis "Catholicis inculcatum, et ab "universali Christi Ecclesia "per plura incorrupta sæcula "usu acceptum, ex ipso sa- "crarum Scripturarum fonte, "patrumque et Conciliorum, "ac Scriptorum orthodoxorum "monumentis fuse explica- "tur." The first volume, which treats upon the external and internal jurisdiction of the church, was published at London, 1617; the second, which is devoted to the consideration of the Sacraments, in 1620, at the same place; the last volume, which was never completed on account of the author's troubles, appeared abroad long after at Frankfort in 1658; and is perhaps the most valuable of the three. It treats of the rule of faith in its widest extent; of schism and heresy; of the notes of the church; of benefices, and the temporal goods of the church, &c. By Cosins, (Transubst. p. 22.); by Hammond, (Works, i. p. 255.); by Thorndike, and others of our most learned divines, this book is spoken of with great commendation. But Fuller is rather spiteful against Antonio's memory, and for this reason:—Spalato's arrival in this country was welcomed with great rejoicing; by none more so than by that party in the church who had distinguished themselves for their uncompromising hostility to the church of Rome. They looked upon this secession of one so greatly distinguished as a triumph of their principles; and every where Antonio was feasted and caressed. Archbishop Abbot, the most influential advocate of puritan doctrines, "gave him lodging and diet at "his own house;" (Goodman, i. p. 339.) sir Dudley Carleton, the countenancer of the contra-remonstrants, negotiated for his favourable reception and provision in this country, and all persons drew forward to do honour to one who had paid so much homage to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England. But with

a strong and clear style, nor doth an hair hang at the nib of his pen to blurr his writings with ob- A. D. 1622. 20 James.

all his learning and ability, (if we may credit Goodman) Antonio was "of a restless and "unquiet spirit." The want of order and discipline in this church soon disgusted him; but especially "the intolerable "sacrilege and rapine of those "days," of which he was an eye-witness; (Goodman, i. p. 344.) Nor had he fallen among those who were likely to mend matters, or increase his esteem for his new associates. So "being "daily vexed with many af-"fronts and injuries," (says bp. Cosin, who knew him well,) "and wearied by the unjust "persecutions of some sour and "over-rigid men," (he means "Abbot and the Puritans,) "who bitterly declaimed every "where against his life and "actions, he at last resolved to "return into Italy with a safe "conduct. Before he depart-"ed, he was, by order from the "king, questioned by some "commissionated bishops what "he thought of the religion and "Church of England, which for "so many years he had served "and obeyed, and what he "would say of it in the Roman "court? To this query he gave "in writing this memorable an-"swer: 'I am resolved, even "with the danger of my life, "to profess before the pope "himself, that the Church of "England is a true and ortho-"dox church of Christ.' This "he not only promised but "faithfully performed; for "though soon after his depar-"ture there came a book out of "the Low Countries, falsely "bearing his name, by whose "title many were deceived, and "thereby moved to tax him "with apostasy, and of being "another Ecebolius; yet when "he came to Rome, where he "was most kindly entertained "in the palace of pope Gregory "XV. (who formerly had been "his fellow-student,) he could "never be persuaded by the "Jesuits and others, who daily "thronged upon him, neither "to subscribe the newly devised "tenets of the council of Trent, "or to retract those orthodox "books which he had printed in "England and Germany, or to "renounce the communion of "the Church of England, in "whose defence he constantly "persisted to the very last. But "presently after the decease of "pope Gregory, he was impri-"soned by the Jesuits and in-"quisitors in the castle of St. "Angelo, where, by being bar-"barously used and almost "starved, he soon got a mortal "sickness and died in a few "days, though not without "suspicion of being poisoned. "The day following, his corpse "was, by the sentence of the in-"quisition, tied to an infamous "stake, and then burnt to ashes, "for no other reason but that "he refused to make abjuration "of the religion of the Church "of England." Bp. Cosin concludes these observations, which he affirms were not known to many, by saying, "that he had

A. D. 1622. 20 James. security; but, first understanding himself, he could make others understand him. His writings are of great use for the Protestant cause. *Many*, saith the [p] Prophet, *shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.* And surely the transcursion of Italians hither added much to the discovery of the papal abominations. Yet allowing Spalato diligent in writing, his expression was a notorious hyperbole, when saying, "In reading, meditation, and writing, "I am almost pined away[q];" otherwise his fat cheeks did confute his false tongue in that expression.

The jeerer jeered. 7. Amongst other of his ill qualities he delighted in jeering, and would spare none who came in his way. One of his sarcasms he unhappily bestowed on count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, telling him, "That three turns at Tyburn was the only way "to cure his fistula." The don, highly offended hereat, (pained for the present more with his flout than his fistula,) meditates revenge, and repairs to king James. He told his majesty, that "his charity" (an error common in good princes) "abused his judg- "ment, in conceiving Spalato a true convert, who

"taken occasion of inserting "this narrative to make it ap- "pear that this rev. prelate, "who did such service to the "church of God, might be truly "reckoned among the writers "of the Church of England." Hist. of Transubst. p. 23.]

[p] Dan. xii. 4,

[q] "*In lectione, meditatione, "scriptione consumens pæne "marcesco.*" Resp. Archiepis. Spal. Feb. 11. ad Artic. 3. 1621=1622 ..... ["I have "in a sort drowned myself in "my books and macerated my- "self, as buried in my study, "daily spending ten hours in "reading, meditation, and writ- "ing." Spal. Shiftings, p. 42. The English tract is nothing more than a translation from the Latin. The title of the first is as follows: "Alter Ecebolius; "M. Ant. de Dominis Arch. "Spalatensis, pluribus Domi- "nis inservire doctus." Lond. 1624. 4°. Of the other, "M. "Ant. de Dominis, Archbishop "of Spalato, his Shiftings in "Religion. A man for many "masters." Lond. 1624. 4°.]

"still in heart remained a Roman catholic." Indeed, his majesty had a rare felicity in discovering the falsity of witches, and forgery of such who pretended themselves possessed; but under favour was deluded with this man's false spirit, and by his majesty's leave he would detect unto him this his hypocrisy. The king cheerfully embraced his motion, and left him to the liberty of his own undertakings. A.D. 1622. 20 James.

8. The ambassador writeth to his catholic majesty; he to his holiness Gregory the fifteenth, that Spalato might be pardoned, and preferred in the church of Rome, which was easily obtained. Letters are sent from Rome to count Gondomar, written by the cardinal Mellino, to impart them to Spalato, informing him that the pope had forgiven and forgotten all which he had done or written against the Catholic religion; and upon his return would prefer him to the bishopric of Salerno in Naples, worth twelve thousand crowns by the year[r]. A cardinal's hat also should be bestowed upon him. And, if Spalatowith his hand subscribed to this letter would renounce and disclaim what formerly he had printed, an apostolical breve with pardon should be solemnly sent him to Brussels. Spalato embraceth the motion, likes the pardon well, the preferment better, accepts both; recants his opinions largely, subscribes solemnly, and thanks his holiness affectionately for his favour. Gondomar carries his subscription to king James, who is glad to behold the hypocrite unmasked, appearing in his own colours; yet the discovery was concealed, and lay dormant some days in the desk, which was in due time to be awakened. Spalato his hypocrisy discovered.

[r] [3000*l.* sterling per annum. See the letter of Demetrius, the archbishop's agent, in "Spalato's Shiftings," p. 59.]

A. D. 1622. 20 James.

He is incensed with a repulse.

9. Now it happened a false rumour was spread, that Toby Matthew, archbishop of York, (who died yearly in report,) was certainly deceased. Presently posts Spalato to Theobalds, becomes an importunate petitioner to the king for the vacant archbishopric, and is as flatly denied; the king conceiving he had given enough already to him, if grateful, too much, if ungrateful[s]. Besides, the king would never bestow an episcopal charge in England on a foreigner, no, not on his own countrymen; some Scotchmen being preferred to deaneries, none to bishoprics. Spalato, offended at this repulse, (for he had rather had York than Salerno, as equal in wealth, higher

[s] ["About the middle of autumn, anno 1621, Ant. de Dominis besought the king to confer the archbishopric of York upon him. A hasty suitor, for the place was not void. The error came about thus: The archbishop then in being (called familiarly Toby Matthew) was ever pleasant and full of becoming merriment; and knowing that his death had been long expected, was wont every year, once or oftener, to cause rumours to be raised that he was deceased. And when he had put this dodgery strongly upon those at London that gaped for the vacancy to succeed him, it was a feast of laughter to him to hear what running and riding there was to fill up his room, who jeered them behind the lattice. No wonder if Spalato, a stranger, was catched in this trap. But he had worse luck than to be derided for his forwardness, for the king bade him sit quiet and seek no further. It was not now, as in Lanfranc's and Anselm's days, to make a stranger a metropolitan of England. The man, impatient that his request had so large a denial, offers his departure, as 'tis said before, not distrusting but that the king would bid for such ware as much as the man thought himself to be worth. But being overshot and laid aside with scorn, he would have eat his words, and cast out speeches in obliquo before the council, that whatever he had uttered, he was disposed more to please the king than to please himself. But he found no place for repentance. And of all this the lord keeper (Williams) is my author." Hacket's Life Williams, p. 98.

This was previous to Spalato's receiving cardinal Mellino's packet from Rome.]

in dignity, nearer in place,) requests his majesty by his letter, to grant his good leave to depart the kingdom, and to return into Italy; pope Paul, his fierce foe, being now dead, and Gregory the fifteenth, his fast friend, being now seated in the chair. The copy of whose letter we have here inserted[t]:— A. D. 1622. 20 James.

To the high and mighty prince, James, by the grace of God king of Great Britain, &c. defender of the faith, &c. M. Anthonie de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato, wisheth all happiness[u].

"Those two popes which were most displeased at "my leaving of Italy and coming into England, Paulus "Quintus, and he which now liveth, Gregory the "fifteenth, have both laboured to call me back from "hence, and used divers messages for that purpose, "to which notwithstanding I gave no heed: but "now of late, when this same pope (being certified "of my zeal in advancing and furthering the union "of all Christian churches) did hereupon take new "care, and endeavour to invite me again unto him, "and signified withal, that he did seek nothing

[t] [Ant. de Dominis his Shiftings, &c. p. 5.]

[u] [This letter, with the subsequent narrative respecting Ant. de Dominis, is principally taken from a pamphlet entitled "M. Ant. de Dominis, arch-"bishop of Spalato his Shift-"ings in Religion," Lond. 1624, 4°.: it was drawn up, as appears by the printer's notice to the reader, by Richard Neile, then bishop of Durham, for the use of a reverend friend.

Bishop Hacket likewise, in his Life of Williams, p. 98, sq. has given an account of Spalato's arrival and conduct in England, in many points resembling and confirming Fuller's narrative. I cannot help thinking therefore from these and other remarkable coincidences, that either Fuller must have seen the MS. of Hacket, which was evidently composed about the year 1654, or that both had access to the same papers.]

A.D. 1622. 20 James. " therein but God's glory, and to use my poor help " also to work the inward peace and tranquillity " of this your majesty's kingdom; mine own con- " science told me that it behoved me to give ready " ear unto his holiness. Besides all this, the dis- " eases and inconveniences of old age growing upon " me, and the sharpness of the cold air of this " country, and the great want (I feel here amongst " strangers) of some friends and kinsfolks, which " might take more diligent and exact care of me, " make my longer stay in this climate very offensive " to my body. Having therefore made an end of " my works, and enjoyed your majesty's goodness, in " bestowing on me all things needful and fit for me, " and in heaping so many and so royal benefits " upon me, I can do no less than promise perpetual " memory and thankfulness, and tender to you my " continuance in your majesty's service wheresoever " I go, and will become in all places a reporter and " extoller of your majesty's praises. Now if my " business proceed and be brought to a good end, " I well hope that I shall obtain your majesty's " good leave to depart, without the least diminution " of your majesty's wonted favour towards me. I " hear of your majesty's late great danger, and con- " gratulate with your majesty for your singular de- " liverance from it by God's great goodness, who " hath preserved you safe from it, as one most dear " unto Him, for the great good of His church, I hope.

" Farewell, the glory and ornament of princes.

" Your majesty's ever most devoted servant,

" Ant. de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato.

" From the Savoy,

" Jan. the 16th, 1621."

To this letter no present answer was returned, but five days after the bishops of London[x] and Duresme[y], with the dean of Winchester[z], by his majesty's direction, repaired to the archbishop, propounding unto him sixteen queries[a], all arising out of his former letter, and requiring him to give the explanation of five most material under his hand, for his majesty's greater satisfaction, which he did accordingly; yet not so clearly but that it occasioned a second meeting[b], wherein more interrogatories were by command propounded unto him; which, with his answers thereunto, because publicly printed, are purposely omitted; and, notwithstanding all obstructions, Spalato still continued his importunity to depart. A. D. 1622. 20 James.

10. He pretended many reasons for his return: first, longing after his own country: who so iron-hearted as not to be drawn home with the loadstone of his native land? Secondly, to see his friends, kindred, nephews, but especially his beloved niece. A story hangs thereon; and it is strange, what was but whispered in Italy was heard over so plain into England[c]. In the Hebrew tongue, nephews and nieces are called sons and daughters, but the Italian clergy, on the contrary, often term their sons and daughters nephews and nieces. Thirdly, the late Reasons pleaded for his return.

[x] [Dr. George Montaigne.]
[y] [Dr. Richard Neile.]
[z] [Dr. John Yonge.]
[a] [In "Mar. Ant. de Dominis' Shiftings in Religion," p. 759. Several papers of interrogatories were administered to him. See the above tract, pp. 31, 60, 63.]
[b] [30th March, 1622. See §. 11. and note.]
[c] [In his reply to the Five Articles, Feb. 18, 1621, he states his desire to procure safety to his nephews and nieces, children of his brother lately slain by his enemies. Spal. Shiftings, p. 67. "who "are left without mother and "without government."]

A. D. 1622. 20 James.

pretended discovery of many errors in our English church, (how quicksighted did the promised bishopric make him,) whereof formerly he took no notice, and all which are learnedly answered in the posthume book of doctor Crakenthorpe, carefully set forth by doctor Barkham, after the author's death, and may all orphan works have the happiness of so faithful a guardian[d]. Lastly, and chiefly, (as he confesseth himself,) *allectus pretio octuplicis stipendii*, "allured "with the reward of a salary eight times as great" as his revenues in England; in which computation, as he ungratefully depresseth the value of what he had in hand, so he undiscreetly advanced the worth of what in hope he promised himself; not to speak of the difference of Italian ducats, when told out, and when told off at so great a distance.

Spalato's second letter to king James.

11. In pursuance of which his desire, he wrote a second letter to king James[e]; the tenor whereof

[d] ["Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ contra M. Antonii de Dominis D. Archiepiscopi Spalatensis injurias. Viri omni virtute doctrinaque spectatissimi D. Rich. Crakenthorp, S.T.D. et Regiæ M. nuper Sacellani opus posthumum. A D. Johanne Barkham, S.T.D. in lucem editum." Lond. 4°. 1625. The copy, which was presented by the editor to G. Villiers, the celebrated duke of Buckingham, is in the library of Queen's College, Oxford.]

[e] [Upon the archbishop's informing the Dean of Winchester, that he hoped to have the honour of kissing the king's hands before his departure, and would for that purpose take a journey even to the remotest part of Scotland, the king, who beheld the archbishop's conduct with great indignation, commanded the dean to let him know, that he would not vouchsafe to see him if he should come.

But Dr. Yonge, who had to convey this information, that he might not hurt the archbishop's feelings, dissuaded him from taking a journey to see the king, upon the ground that he might thereby give occasion to idle rumours, and so incur the king's displeasure. Spalato's Shiftings, p. 24.

This letter was written before the second conference mentioned in §. 9.

At this time the archbishop

we thought fit here to insert for the better clearing of the matter[f]: A. D. 1622. 20 James.

" Most excellent prince, and most gracious lord,

" As I signified lately unto your majesty in my " former letters, I neither ought nor could neglect " the pope's fair and gracious invitation of me; " especially when I saw that he dealt with me con- " cerning the service of Christ and His church; " and, being now at length better certified that " all things are in a readiness for me, I am tied " to my former promises: yet I make it my humble " request, that I may take my journey with your " majesty's good will. And for that purpose, I do " now most humbly and earnestly crave your leave " by these letters, which I would much more wil- " lingly have begged by word of mouth in your " presence, (that I might have parted with your " majesty with all due thanks and submission,) but " that my access to your majesty might have con- " firmed the vain and foolish[g] rumours of the peo- " ple. I beseech your majesty therefore to vouch- " safe to give me some letters whereby my departure " may be made both safe and creditable. As for " the ecclesiastical titles and revenues, which I " hold by your majesty's gift, I shall resign them " by public indentures. So from the bottom of

was in custody, though unknown to himself. See Goodman, ibid. p. 348, whose information is very correct, and more full than that of other writers of this period.]

[f] [Spalato's Shiftings, &c. p. 37.]

[g] Viz. That the king had employed Spalato to the pope, to make a reconciliation betwixt us and Rome.

A.D. 1621. 20 James. "my heart I do commit myself to your royal favour,
"and vow myself your servant for ever,
"Your majesty's most obedient
"always in all things,
"M. Ant. de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato.

"London: from the Savoy,
"Feb. 3, 1621."

This letter produced new interrogatories[h], and several fruitful controversies, (one always begetting another,) but the last was a sharp one at Lambeth, March the 30th, which cut off all future discourse. For a commission was issued out to the archbishop of Canterbury[i], the bishops of Lincoln[k], (lord keeper of the great seal of England,) London[l], Duresme[m], Winchester[n], and several other privy councillors, before whom Spalato personally appeared[o]. When the archbishop of Canterbury, in the name of the rest, by his majesty's special command, in a long Latin speech, recapitulated the many misdemeanours of Spalato, principally insisting on his changing of religion, as appeared by his purpose of returning to Rome; and that, contrary to the laws of the realm, he had held correspondency by letters with the pope, without the privity of the king's majesty. To which charge, when Spalato had made rather

h [Only an additional interrogatory to a paper of questions which he was commanded to answer previous to the king receiving this letter. See them in Spalato's Shiftings, &c. pp. 31 and 38, with his answers.]

i [George Abbot.]

k [John Williams.]

l [George Montaigne.]

m [Richard Neile.]

n [Launcelot Andrewes.]

o [See "the Act sped at "Lambeth, the 30th of March, "1622," which gives the official account of these proceedings, in "Spalato's Shiftings," p. 79.]

a shuffling excuse than a just defence, the archbishop, in his majesty's name, commanded him to depart the kingdom, at his own peril, within twenty days, and never to return again. To this he promised obedience, protesting he would ever justify the Church of England for orthodox in fundamentals, even in the presence of the pope, or whomsoever, though with the loss of his life[P]. A.D. 1622. 20 James.

P [The following original letter was written by one present on the occasion, and is preserved in MSS. Tan. lxxiii. 113.

"τῷ ἀδέλφῳ φιλτάτῳ αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν."

"Sir,

"The brief of our last Saturday's meeting was this:—

"The fleeting Marc Antonio appeared at the appointed hour; but I may add, (that which I found in him at the summons and after,) with no small mistrust and fear of being used as he knew himself to deserve, viz. to be committed to prison. *Qui timet docet.* And so I told him, and he should have cause to use such thoughts when he came *in manus Romanas.* But at Lambeth he found a better issue than his own guilt suggested. There were about twelve especially appointed by the king to signify his pleasure; Episc. Cant. Lincoln. Winton. Dunelm. Dni Hobard, Jul. Cæsar, Secretary Calvert, *et alii.*

"My lord's grace spoke to him *nom. collegiorum.* First, That Spalatens. having some months since discovered to the king his intention to return into Italy, and asking his majesty's leave to that purpose, his majesty did now appoint to give him his answer; but first would have Spalat. satisfy his majesty in two points. 1. How he could with his fidelity to the king treat with the pope without making the king acquainted therewith. 2. How he could with a good conscience return to that place and religion which he had with such expression of zeal and copious writings opposed and refuted.

"He answered *ad primum,* that though the pope had offered by mediation of some friends some fair invitations for his return, yet he in the beginning did not listen to them, but suspected it was rather a train to deceive or delude him; but as soon as he found that it was truly meant, and so yielded some assent, he without delay acquainted the king, and never assented but conditionally, if the king would give leave, in which condition he still persisted.

"Ad 2um. That he never changed his religion, for both are one religion, *tantum dif-*

A.D. 1622. 20 James.

12. However, loth to depart was his last tune[q]; and no wonder, if well considering whence and

Desires in vain still to stay.

" *ferunt in quibusdam acciden-*
" *talibus et circumstantiis;* and
" that he never left Italy for
" scruple of conscience in reli-
" gion, but that he might have
" liberty to publish the truth
" in his books. Hereto my
" lord's grace replied, that in
" his manifesto published at his
" first entrance he professed
" otherwise; viz.

" *Meam in loci mutatione di-*
" *vinam esse vocationem non*
" *humanam nullo modo possum*
" *aut debeo ambigere.*

" *Inventa avaritiæ et ambiti-*
" *onis pro sanctis fidei dogma-*
" *tibus Romæ obtruduntur.*

" *Quid facerem amplius in*
" *medio nationis pravæ atque*
" *perversæ?*

" *Omnes episcopi sub Roma-*
" *no simul cum Duce ad præci-*
" *pitium properant.*

" *Profectionem meam, sive*
" *etiam ex Babylone exitum,*
" *&c.*——

" *Fugio errores, fugio, ne*
" *particeps sim delictorum ejus,*
" *et de plagis ejus accipiam.*

" How then is Rome, that
" was then Babylon, when you
" came hither, now become
" Sion?

" To this he answered (*satis*
" *impudenter*); that his lesser
" treatises were written *popu-*
" *lariter, non dogmatice,* and
" had many rhetorical amplifi-
" cations in them which are not
" to be enforced to the utmost.
" But in his large volumes De
" rep. Eccles. he did more re-
" solutely and expressly set
" down his judgment. Item,
" That he wrote his manifesto
" in the time of pope Paul V.
" but now in this pope's time
" he hath very great hope of
" much reformation and a-
" mendment of abuses, he being
" a very pious man.

" *O versipellem Jesuitam! cui*
" *religio et conscientia nil est*
" *aliud quam προσωπεῖον.*

" He was particularly asked
" to acknowledge certain an-
" swers in writing, which he
" made to the king, upon some
" demands a little after his
" first disclosing this intention.
" These his papers he acknow-
" ledged, and also, upon a fresh
" demand, professed his works
" printed in England to be his
" own, and that he would never
" deny them whatsoever should
" become of him. In the end,
" my lord's grace signified to
" him the king's resolution;
" viz. that because he had much
" wronged our king in this
" clandestine consulting for de-
" parture hence, where he was
" so well entertained by his
" majesty, and scandalized our
" religion and people with thus
" revolting from us, the king
" (instead of giving him his de-
" sired free license to depart)
" doth will and command him,
" upon peril, within twenty
" days from that inst. to depart
" out of England, and out of
" all his majesty's dominions,
" never to return again to any
" of them. Whereto he an-
" swered that he would obey,
" and protested *in fide boni*
" *viri se quoquo devenerit om-*

whither he went. He left a land where he lacked nothing, but a thankful heart to God and a contented soul in himself. He went to a place of promise, suspicious whether ever it should be performed. He feared (not without cause) he might lose his grey head to fetch a red hat: and an ominous instance was lately set before his eyes. One Fulgentius, a minorite, had inveighed at Venice against the pope, and was by his nuncio trained

A. D. 1622. 20 James.

" *nia quæ posset officia præ-*
" *stiturum regi et ecclesiæ An-*
" *glicanæ.* And so *soluto con-*
" *ventu*, he departed out of
" Lambeth house, without any
" attendance but his own ser-
" vants; and when he went to
" take water, the watermen
" standing by would not veile
" bonnets to him. Now he
" packeth up, and as I hear,
" will be gone next week. To
" comment upon this scene of
" catastrophe were *longa inju-*
" *ria, longæ ambages.* When
" we meet I shall tell you some
" more particulars of his more
" science than conscience.
" Dr. Beaumont shall be dean
" of Windsor, and a new pre-
" bendary shall be in his stead
" crowded in before the rever-
" sioners. *Quod illos mordet.*
" Yesterday the emperor's am-
" bassador arrived at Somerset
" house. " Vale,
" Vester,
" THO. GOAD.

"Lambeth. Raptim.
" April 5, 1622.

" I pray you remember my
" duty and love to our lord
" Sarum: your shewing his
" lordship this letter will sup-
" ply my not writing to him
" now. This day Dr. Wineff
" made a very elegant and free
" sermon in Whitehall chapel.
" But speaking of the invasion
" of our souls by the devil, he
" did illustrate it with a com-
" parison of Spinola's invading
" the Palatinate, and the rescue
" of them he assured because
" we have a king (i. e. dean?)
" who hath promised not to
" suffer any of his children's
" inheritance to be utterly with-
" held. *Hoc charo emit.* For
" at noon he was discharged
" from the prince's service.
" Item, In his sermon he
" spared not adulatores clericos
" and neutralizers, &c.
(addressed)
" To the right worshipful
" Mr. Dr. Ward, master of Syd-
" ney College in Cambridge."

Dr. Goad " had conversed " inwardly with him ever since " his coming into this king- " dom," and was appointed, in Feb. 19, 1621=1622, to have a conference with him touching schism. The doctor's own account of it is published in Spalato's Shiftings, p. 71.]

q [See Crakenthorpe's Def. p. 38.]

A. D. 1622. 20 James. to Rome on promise of safe conduct; where, being favoured and feasted at first, soon after in the field of Flora he was burnt to ashes. This made Spalato effectually, but secretly, to deal with his friends in the English court, that his majesty would permit him to stay[r]. But in vain; and therefore, within the time appointed, he went over in the same ship with count Swartzenburgh, the emperor's ambassador, returning hence into Flanders[s].

Departeth to Rome.

13. And now Spalato is shipped[t]; a good wind and fair weather go after him: his sails shall not be stuffed with a blast of my curses, conceiving that his fault was sufficient punishment. But [u]others have compared him to the *house, swept and garnished*[x], to which the devil returned with seven spirits more wicked than himself, which they thus reckon up; avarice, ambition, and hypocrisy, whilst he stayed here; apostasy and perjury when going hence; ingratitude and calumny when returned to Rome. Yea, they find as many punishments lighting on him: God angry with him; the devil tormenting him; his conscience corroding him; the world cursing him; the true church disdaining him; Protestant pens confuting him; and the pope, at last, in revenge, executing him. And now the master hath had the just shame for his apostasy, let the man receive the due praise of his perseverance: one Gio Pietro Paravicino, a Grison, who waited on Spalato in his chamber, whom neither frights nor

[r] [The same is stated in the letters of archbishop Abbot, published in sir Thos. Roe's Negociations; but does not seem probable.]

[s] [Hacket's Life of Williams, p. 103.]

[t] [18th April.]

[u] Dr. Barkham in his Dedicatory Epistle to king James.

[x] Matt. xii. 44.

flatteries could remove, but he died in Holland a firm professor of the Protestant religion. A. D. 1622. 20 James.

14. Being come to Brussels, he recants his religion, and rails bitterly on the English church, calling his coming hither an unhappy, irrational, pestiferous, devilish voyage[y], to which he was moved with sickness of soul, impatience, and a kind of phrensy of anger[z]. Here he stayed six months for the pope's Returns to his railing vomit.

[y] In his book called Consilium Reditus, p. 6. [" Marcus " Antonius de Dominis Archi- " episc. Spalaten. sui Reditus " ex Anglia Consilium exponit. " Romæ, ex typographia Rev. " Cameræ Apostolicæ, 1623. " Superiorum Permissu," 4°. Translated at length with the following title: " M. Antonius " de Dominis, Archbishop of " Spalato, declares the Cause of " his Return out of England. " Translated out of the Latin " Copy, printed at Rome this " present Year," &c. Perm. Superiorum, 1623, 12°. But the English translation contains an address to the reader not found in the Latin, reflecting severely on De Dominis.

This I have no doubt is the spurious publication to which bishop Cosin refers in a previous note.]

[z] Ibid. p. 4. [This Consilium Reditus was, according to Hacket, written in prison; who further gives us the following account of this unfortunate man. " Sir Edward Sackville," (who shortly succeeded his brother Richard in the earldom of Dorset,) " was at Rome, anno " 1624, and had welcome given " him with much civility in the " English college, so far that " he presumed to ask, rather " out of curiosity than love, to " see this prisoner De Dominis. " Mr. T. Fitzherbert, the rec- " tor, did him the observance " to go with him to the jail. " He found him shut up in " a ground chamber, narrow " and dark; for it looked upon " a great wall, which was as " near unto it as the breadth " of three spaces. Some slight " forms being passed over which " used to be in all visits, says " sir Edward: 'My lord of " Spalato, you have a dark " lodging: it was not so with " you in England. There you " had Windsor, as good a pro- " spect by land as was in all " the country; and at the Sa- " voy you had the best pro- " spect upon the water that " was in all the city.' 'I have " forgot those things,' says the " bishop, 'here I can but con- " template the kingdom of " heaven.' Sir Edward, tak- " ing Mr. Fitzherbert aside " into the next room: 'Sir,' " says he, 'tell me honestly, " do you think this man is em- " ployed in the contemplation " of heaven?' Says the father " rector, 'I think nothing less; " for he was a malecontent " knave when he fled from us,

A.D. 1622. 20 James.

breve, which was long a coming, and at last was utterly denied him; insomuch that Spalato was fain to run the hazard, and desperately adventure to Rome, having nothing *in scriptis* for his security, but barely presuming on promises, and the friendship of Gregory the fifteenth, now pope, formerly his colleague and chamber-fellow.

Lives at Rome not loved, and dies unlamented.

15. I find not his promised bishopric conferred upon him; who as well might have been made primate and metropolitan of *terra incognita*. Yea, returning to Sodom (though not turned into a pillar of salt) he became unsavourably salt, cared for of no side. Such a crooked stick, which had bowed all ways, was adjudged unfit to make a beam, or rafter, either in popish or protestant church. And now, what would not make timber to build must make fuel to burn, to which end he came at last. But for some years he lived at Rome, on a pension which pope Gregory assigned him out of his own revenues[a] until there arose a new pope, who never knew Spalato, (with the least knowledge of approbation,) viz. Urban the eighth, brought in by the antifaction of the French. He finding his revenue charged with a pension paid to his adversary, (thrift

" a railing knave while he lived " with you, and a motley parti- " coloured knave now he is " come again.' This is the " relation which that honour- " able person made in 1625, " which I heard him utter in " the hearing of no mean ones." Life of Williams, p. 104.]

[a] [That cannot be, for, as Hacket observes, " this renego " sailed from our ports in the " end of April, arrived at Rome " in June; and this pope, the " hope of his life and fortunes, " expired July 8, 1623, S. N." Life of Williams, p. 101. His sickness was probably known to Spalato before he left England, but he hoped that his friend cardinal Mellino would have succeeded instead of Urban VIII., and indeed his chances of success were very great. And this may in some degree account for this pope's severity towards Spalato, the friend of his rival.]

is a flower even in the triple crown,) prohibits the future issuing out of the same. His pension being stopped, Spalato's mouth is open, and passionately discourseth reputed heresy in several companies. A. D. 1622. 20 James.

16. There was residing at Rome one cardinal Clesel, a high German, betwixt whom and Spalato formerly great familiarity, whilst Clesel was the pope's legate *de latere* with the emperor at Vienna, where Spalato negotiated business for the state of Venice. This cardinal expected Spalato's applications unto him after he was returned to Rome, which he refused, being (belike) too high in the instep, or rather too stiff in the knees, to bow to beg a kindness. Clesel, perceiving his amity made contemptible, resolved to make his enmity considerable; yet, dissembling friendship for the better opportunity of revenge, he invites Spalato to supper; and, a train of discourse being laid at a liberal meal, Spalato is as free in talking as in eating, and lets fall this expression, that (though divers had endeavoured it) no catholic had as yet answered his books, "De Republica Ecclesiastica," but added moreover, that he himself was able to answer them. Presently his person is clapped into prison, his study seized on, wherein many papers were found speaking heresy enough, his adversaries being admitted sole interpreters thereof[b]. Cardinal Clesel's neglected friendship destructive to Spalato.

17. As for his death, some months after, some say he was stifled, others strangled, others stabbed, others starved, others poisoned, others smothered Spalato's body burnt after his death.

[b] [He was shut up in the inquisition, where the task was imposed upon him of confuting his own works. See Dalrymple's Mem. of Jas. I. p. 145. where is given the substance of several papers respecting Antonio de Dominis, preserved in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh.]

A.D. 1622. 20 James. to death; but my intelligence, from his own kindred at Venice, informs me that he died a natural death, adding moreover, *non sine præveniente gratia*, "not "without God's preventing grace;" for had his life been longer, his death had been more miserable. "Yea," they say, "the pope sent four of his sworn "physicians to recognise his corpse, who, on their "oath, deposed that no impression of violence was "visible thereon." However, after his death his excommunicated corpse was put to public shame, and solemnly proceeded against in the inquisition, for relapsing into heresy since his return to Rome[c]. His kindred were summoned to appear for him, if they pleased, but durst not plead for a dead man, for fear of infection of the like punishment on themselves. Several articles of heresy are charged upon him, and he, found convict thereof, is condemned to have his body burnt by the public executioner in the field of Flora, which was performed accordingly. Such honour have all apostates[d]!

[c] [See "A Relation sent "from Rome, of the process, "sentence, and execution done "upon the body, &c. of Mar- "cus Ant. de Dominis, arch- "bishop of Spalato, after his "death." London. 1624. 4°. reprinted in Somers' Tracts, vol. ii. p. 30. Dalrymple, p. 140.]

[d] [It appears that upon his return to the continent that the archbishop was received with great favour by the pope, and treated with distinguished marks of honour, for he himself describes his reception with a great deal of vanity and exultation, if the papers attributed to him be genuine. (Dalrymple, p. 147.) "But because his conver- "sion was feigned," to use the words of the narrative sent from Rome, "and not sincere and "from his heart, he began in fa- "miliar discourse to break forth "into most grievous heresies, "and to maintain whatsoever he "said to be true." Accordingly he was proceeded against by the inquisition, but died before the process was completed. Sentence, however, having been given against him, his body, picture, and books, were carried into Campo de Fiore, where they were straightway burnt. Dalrymple, p. 141–4.]

18. We must not forget that Spalato (I am confident I am not mistaken therein) was the first, who, professing himself a Protestant, used the word Puritan, to signify the defenders of matters doctrinal in the English church. Formerly the word was only taken to denote such as dissented from the hierarchy in discipline and church government, which now was extended to brand such as were anti-Arminians in their judgments. As Spalato first abused the word in this sense, so we could wish he had carried it away with him in his return to Rome; whereas now leaving the word behind him in this extensive signification thereof, it hath since by others been improved to asperse the most orthodox in doctrine and religious in conversation[e].

A. D. 1622. 20 James.

The word Puritan, how first abused by Spalato.

[e] [This, as I have observed, is one reason why Fuller and those of the same party exaggerated the failings of Antonio de Dominis. Men in general were much scandalized and disappointed upon Spalato's resolution to return to Rome, upon whose proselytism they set by far too high a value. But Usher, Ward and Davenant had another cause of dislike, in the archbishop's opposition to the Calvinistic school. And it is not improbable that Fuller derived this account of De Dominis from his uncle, bishop Davenant. The following is D. Barwick's account of his reasons for returning, and is far more mild and temperate than Fuller's: "The archbishop's pretence was very plausible and commendable," (and how real he was in it must be left to God,) namely, to negotiate a unity in religion between the Church of Rome and the Church of England, upon those moderate grounds which he had laid down and so well defended in his learned and laborious works printed here at London. He applauded himself in the excellency of the work, in removing the schism; and of the honour in becoming a repairer of the breach, and of the reward which is promised to the peacemakers. And he thought himself the more likely to go through with his work by reason of the seasonable opportunity he had at that time, when Gregory XV. was newly chosen pope, who had been of his old and intimate acquaintance, brought up in the same school and college with him. And however he was resolved to make

A.D. 1622. 20 James.

His unpartial character.

19. He was of a comely personage, tall stature, grey beard, grave countenance, fair language, fluent expression, somewhat abdominous, and corpulent in his body. Of so imperious and domineering spirit, that (as if the tenant were the landlord) though a stranger, he offered to control the archbishop of Canterbury in his own house. An excellent preacher, (every first Sunday in the month to the Italian nation at Mercers' chapel,) as his sermon called *scopleos*[f], or the rocks, doth plentifully witness, wherein he demonstrates, That all the errors of the Roman church proceed from their pride and covetousness. And (under the rose be it spoken) if the great ship of Rome split itself on these rocks, Spalato his own pinnace made *shipwreck of the faith*[g] on the same, which were his bosom sins. In a word, he had too much wit and learning to be a cordial papist, and too little honesty and religion to be a sincere Protestant[h].

" an attempt, because if he " failed in it, he hoped he " should lose nothing but his " labour. —— While he was " swelled up full with this pro- " mise and these hopes, the " bishop of Lichfield and Co- " ventry, [Dr. Morton,] coming " to visit him, had this ensuing " discourse with him, which I " have often heard him repeat " with pleasure. LICH. *Do-* " *mine quid tibi in animo est?* " *anne convertere papam, atque* " *etiam conclave papale?* SPAL. " *Quid ni domine? anne exis-* " *timas eos diabolos esse, ut non* " *possint converti?* LICH. *Mi-* " *nime domine; nec puto do-* " *minum Spalatensem deum es-* " *se, ut hoc possit præstare. No-* " *stin' enim concilium Triden-* " *tinum.* SPAL. *Novi domine,* " *ut ausus sum tibi dicere, mil-* " *lies mille sunt, etiam in Italia,* " *qui huic concilio fidem nullam* " *adhibent.*" Life of Morton, p. 86. See also Hacket's Life of Williams, p. 102. Bedell, bishop of Kilmore, seems to have entertained a more favourable opinion of him, if we may judge from the life written by his son, and now preserved in MS. in the Bodleian.]

[f] ["Scogli del Christiano " Naufragio," see his Consil. Redditus, p. 9.]

[g] 1 Tim. i. 19.

[h] [The writer of a pamphlet written on occasion of the fatal Vespers at Blackfriars in

20. About the same time three other Italians made their escape into England. One, Antonio, (as I take it, a Capuchin,) who here married a wife, and was beneficed in Essex. The other two, Benedictines, living, the one with the archbishop of Canterbury, the other with the archbishop of York. All these three were neither good dough nor good bread, but like Ephraim, *a cake not turned*[i], though they pretended to true conversion. The first of these, being kin to Spinola, the Low Country general, was by him (on what terms I know not) trained over and reconciled to Rome. The other two (only racking, no thoroughpaced Protestants) watched their opportunity to run away. Yet let not this breed in us a jealousy of all Italian converts, seeing Vergerius, Peter Martyr, Emanuel Tremellius, &c. may reconcile us to a good opinion of them, and to believe, that God hath *a few names even in Sardis*[k], where the throne of the beast is erected. And indeed, Italian converts, like Origen, where they do well, none better; where ill, none worse.

A.D. 1622. 20 James. Three other Italian jugglers.

21. All men's mouths were now filled with discourse of prince Charles his match with donna Maria, the infanta of Spain[l]. The Protestants grieved

The Spanish match the discourse general.

1623, speaks of the archbishop's manner in the pulpit, and that he had "known some preachers "to commend that counterfeit "Spalato amongst us, who in "his warmness hath been very "graceful in the pulpit, as I "myself can witness in the "Mercers' chapel in London," p. 22. See the title of this pamphlet at length, §. 29.]

[i] Hosea vii. 8.

[k] Revel. iii. 4.

[l] [Much as the Spanish match was disrelished, it would have been one of the most advantageous strokes of policy for this nation could it have been effected. That designing and ambitious men should have endeavoured to embroil the nation in a war with Spain is not surprising, since this was the policy of the houses of parliament during the reigns of the Stuarts, in order to make the king more

A.D. 1622. 20 James.

thereat, fearing that this marriage would be the funerals of their religion; and their jealousies so descanted thereon, that they suspected, if taking effect, more water of Tiber than Thames would run under London bridge. The church catholics grew insolent thereat, and such, who formerly had a pope in their belly, shewed him now in their tongues and faces, avouching their religion, which they concealed before. Yet at last this match (so probable) brake off; Heaven forbidding the banns, even at the third and last asking thereof.

Gondomar procures the enlargement of all Jesuits.

22. Count Gondomar was the active instrument to advance this match[m], who so carried himself in the twilight of jest-earnest, that with his jests he pleased his majesty of England, and with his earnest he pleasured his master of Spain. Having found out the length of king James's foot, he fitted him with

dependent upon them, and so advance their own power.

Hacket, in his amusing way, describes the tirades which were launched from the pulpits of the puritanical divines against the Spanish match: "There "were divines," he says, "more "satirical than gospel-spirited, "chiefly some among the lec- "turers in populous auditories "that were much overseen. "Bending their discourses "either under the line or above "the line against the quiet "settlement of present govern- "ment. Some carried their fire "in dark lanterns, and deplored "the dangers that hung over "us. Some railed outright, "and carried the brand's end "openly in their mouth to kin- "dle combustion.— The trea- "tise about the Spanish match "was the breeze that bit them "and made them wild. That "was such a bugbear, that at the "motion of it some that were "conscientious, and some that "seemed so, thought that the "true worship of God was a "shipboard and sailing out of "the realm, &c." He then contrasts the conduct of these inconsistent zealots upon the occasion of the French match. The whole passage is admirably descriptive of the insolencies of these ecclesiastical mountebanks. Life of Williams, p. 86.]

[m] [See Howell's Letters, pp. 116, 119. ed. 1726. If his protestations may be trusted, Gondomar was very earnest for the match.]

so easy a shoe, which pained him not, (no, not when he was troubled with the gout,) this cunning don being able to please him in his greatest passion. And although the match was never effected, yet Gondomar, whilst negotiating the same in favour to the catholic cause, procured of his majesty the enlargement of all priests and Jesuits through the English dominions. A.D. 1622. 20 James.

23. The actions of princes are subject to be censured, even of such people who reap the greatest benefit thereby, as here it came to pass. These Jesuits, when at liberty, did not gratefully ascribe their freedom to his majesty's mercy, but only to his willingness to rid and clear his gaols over-pestered with prisoners; as if his majesty, if so minded, could not have made the gallows the besom to sweep the gaol, and as easily have sent these prisoners from Newgate up westward by land, as over southward by sea. What moved king James to this lenity at this time, I neither do know nor will inquire[n]. Surely, such as sit at the stern and hold the helm can render a reason why they steer to this or that point of the compass, though they give not to every mariner (much less passenger in the ship) an account thereof. I, being only by my place ὑπηρέτης, "a rower," or minister in the vessel, content myself in silence with the will of the master thereof. But let us exemplify the lord keeper's letter to this purpose: A malicious comment on a merciful text.

[n] [For the reason of this leniency, if a reason be required, see Hacket's Life of Williams, p. 91, and Spottiswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 543. See also Williams' own Letter in the Cabala, p. 269, detailing the motives of the king's conduct.]

A. D. 1622.
20 James.

TO THE JUDGES.

"After my hearty commendations to you, his "majesty having resolved (out of deep reasons of "state, and in expectation of like correspondence "from foreign princes, to the professors of our reli- "gion) to grant some grace and connivancy to the "imprisoned papists of this kingdom, hath com- "manded me to pass some writs under the broad "seal to this purpose; requiring the judges of every "circuit to enlarge the said prisoners according to "the tenor and effect of the same. I am to give "you to understand (from his majesty) how his "majesty's royal pleasure is, that upon receipt of "these writs you shall make no niceness or diffi- "culty to extend that his princely favour to all such "papists as you shall find prisoners in the gaols "of your circuits, for any church recusancy what- "soever, or refusing the oath of supremacy, or dis- "persing popish books, or hearing saying of mass or "any other point of recusancy which doth touch or "concern religion only, and not matters of state. "And so I bid you farewell.

"Your loving friend.

"Westminster College,
"August 2, 1622."

"JOHN LINCOLN."

Now although one will easily believe many priests and Jesuits were set at liberty, yet surely that [o] gentleman is no true accountant, if affirming no fewer than four thousand to be set free at this time; especially considering that [p] one who undertakes to give in a perfect list of all the Jesuits in England (and is

[o] [Prynne's Hidden Works, &c. p. 14.]

[p] Jo. Gee's Foot out of the Snare.

since conceived rather to asperse some Protestants than conceal any papists) cannot mount their number higher than two hundred fifty and five. To which, if such whom he detects for popish physicians, with all those whom he accuses for popish books, be cast in, they will not make up the tithe of four thousand[q]. A. D. 1622. 20 James.

24. However, most distasteful was Gondomar's greatness to the English ancient nobility, who manifested the same, as occasion was offered, as by this one instance may appear: Henry Vere, earl of Oxford, chanced to meet with count Gondomar at a great entertainment; the don accosted him with high compliments, vowing, "That amongst all the nobi- "lity of England there was none he had tendered "his service with more sincerity than to his lord- "ship, though hitherto such his unhappiness, that Bitter compliments betwixt Gondomar and the earl of Oxford.

[q] [See a catalogue of "the "Names of the Romish Priests "and Jesuits now resident "about the city of London, "March 26, 1624," appended to the treatise just mentioned. Gee gives an account merely of the priests and Jesuits, but Prynne refers to four thousand Roman catholics, laity apparently, as well as Jesuits and priests, who were about this time set at liberty. His words are a mere translation of a letter by De Ciriça to king James, dated from Madrid, 7th July, 1622, which commences with the following passage: "El Senor. "Conde de Gondomar dio "quenta los Dias passados al "Rey mi Señor, que a ynstançia "suya ha dado libertad el Sero. "Rey de la gran Bretaña a "quatro mil personas, que esta- "van pressos en a quel regno "por causa de Religion," &c. Tan. lxxiii. p. 129. This letter, though not original, is probably a copy by Digby's own hand. The release of the Roman catholics was an act of policy as well as mercy; the expense of detaining them, already a grievous burthen, was likely to be increased by the necessity of building additional prisons for that purpose. By this step the king now returned to those lenient measures with which he had commenced his reign; measures which would have long since been carried fully into effect had they not been prevented by the imprudence of the Roman catholic and the violence of the ultra-Protestant party.]

A. D. 1622. 20 James.

" his affections were not accepted according to his " integrity who tendered them." " It seems," replied the earl of Oxford, " that your lordship had " good leisure, when stooping in your thoughts to " one so inconsiderable as myself, whose whole life " hath afforded but two things memorable therein." " It is your lordship's modesty," returned Gondomar, " to undervalue yourself, whilst we, the spectators " of your honour's deserts, make a true and unpar- " tial estimate thereof; hundreds of memorables have " met in your lordship's life: but good my lord " what are those two signal things more conspicuous " than all the rest?" " They are these two," said the earl: " I was born in the eighty-eight, and " christened on the fifth of November."

The death of master Henry Copinger.

25. Henry Copinger, formerly fellow of St. John's College in Cambridge, prebendary of York, once chaplain to Ambrose, earl of Warwick, (whose funeral sermon he preached,) made master of Magdalene College in Cambridge by her majesty's mandate, (though afterwards resigning his right at the Queen's (shall I call it?) request, to prevent trouble,) ended his religious life. He was the sixth son of Henry Copinger of Bucks hall in Suffolk, esquire, by Agnes, daughter of sir Thomas Jermyn. His father on his deathbed asking him, " what course " of life he would embrace;" he answered, " he " intended to be a divine." " I like it well," said the old gentleman; " otherwise, what shall I say " to Martin Luther when I shall see him in heaven, " and he knows that God gave me eleven sons, and " I made not one of them a minister?" An expression proportionable enough to Luther's judgment, who maintained some hours before his death,

"that the saints in heaven shall knowingly converse "one with another[r]." A. D. 1622. 20 James.

26. Laneham living fell void, which both deserved a good minister, being a rich parsonage, and needed one; it being more than suspicious that Dr. Reynolds, late incumbent, (who ran away to Rome,) had left some superstitious leaven behind him. The earl of Oxford, being patron, presents Mr. Copinger to it, but adding withal, "that he would pay no tithes of "his park, being almost half the land of the parish." Copinger desired to resign it again to his lordship, rather than by such sinful gratitude to betray the rights of the church. "Well; if you be of that "mind, then take the tithes," saith the earl; "I "scorn that my estate should swell with church "goods." However, it afterwards cost master Copinger sixteen hundred pounds in keeping his questioned, and recovering his detained rights, in suit with the agent for the next (minor) earl of Oxford, and others; all which he left to his church's quiet possession, being zealous in God's cause but remiss in his own. A free patron and faithful incumbent well met.

27. He lived forty and five years the painful parson of Laneham, in which market town there were about nine hundred communicants, amongst whom, all his time, no difference did arise which he did not compound. He had a bountiful hand and plentiful purse, (his paternal inheritance by death of elder brothers, and other transactions, descending upon him,) bequeathing twenty pounds in money, and ten pounds per annum to the poor of the parish, in the chancel whereof he lieth buried under a fair monu- His long and good life.

[r] Pantaleon, Vita Lutheri [in Prosopograph. iii.] p. 82. [ed. 1565.]

A. D. 1623. 21 James. ment, dying on St. Thomas his day in the threescore and twelfth year of his age.

A conference with Jesuits.

28. Papists now appearing very daring, a conference, or dispute, (if you please,) was entertained betwixt doctor White and doctor Featley, Protestants; father Fisher and father Sweete, Jesuits: on this occasion, Edward Buggs, esq., living in London, aged seventy, and a professed Protestant, was in his sickness seduced to the Romish religion. But recovering, this dispute was held at his request in the house of sir Humphrey Lynde, a learned and religious gentleman; about the visibility of the church, and the tenets now maintained by the Protestants to have been before Luther. The printed book hereof may satisfy the reader, as this conference did so satisfy master Buggs, that, renouncing his former wavering, he was confirmed in the Protestant truth[s].

[s] [Entitled, "The Fisher "catched in his own Net," 1623, 4°. affirmed to have been written by Dr. Featley, according to the answerer's preface, whose book bears the following title: "An Answer to a pamphlet "entitled, The Fisher catched "in his own Net; in which "by the way is shewed that "the Protestant Church was "not so visible in all ages as "the true church ought to be; "and consequently is not the "true church, of which men "may learn infallible faith ne- "cessary to salvation," 1623, 4°. The question proposed by the Jesuit, Fisher, for discussion, was in these words:— "Whether the Protestant "Church was in all ages visi- "ble, and especially in the "ages going before Luther; "and whether the names of "such visible Protestants in "all ages can be shewed and "proved out of good authors." After observing that a church may have been visible, yet not the names of all visible professors thereof now to be shewn and proved, Dr. Featley used the following argument: "That "church, whose faith is eternal "and perpetual, was ever visi- "ble in the professors there- "of; but the faith of the "Protestant church is eter- "nal and perpetual, *Ergo*, &c." "FISHER. You conclude not "the question." "FEATLEY. "There are two queries in your "question, first, Whether the

29. Now happened the sad vespers, or doleful evening song, at Blackfriars in London: father Drury, a Jesuit of excellent morals and ingratiating converse[t], (wanting nothing saving the embracing

A. D. 1623. 21 James.

The fatal vespers at Blackfriars.

" Protestant church were in all " ages visible; and secondly, " Whether the names of such " visible Protestants in all ages " can be shewed. I have con- " cluded in my syllogism the " first query." " FISHER. I " say they are but one, for " the latter part is to expound " the former: for I mean by " visible, so visible that the " names of such visible Protes- " tants may be shewed." A very Jesuitical explanation! That this is not misrepresented is clear from the answerer's book, who puts the same argument in Fisher's mouth; terming it " a needless wrang- " ling, as if grammar scholars " had been disputing rather " than grave divines." p. 17. To the above syllogism of Dr. Featley, the answerer makes the following objections: that " if the term *that church* be " understood only of a particu- " lar church," (as for example the Church of England,) " it is " contrary to all logical form: " if it be understood universally " *of every church* that is, or " may be, then both major and " minor are false; for that there " may be a church or company " who may have insured faith " eternal and unchanged," (as for example, a church of angels,) " who for want of visible pro- " fession are not so visible as " the catholic church ought to " be. The minor is false also, " for the Protestant Church " hath not the true primitive " faith." This of course was the point to be proved; for without objecting that this refutation of the major applies to only one alternative, if what the answerer says be correct, then there may be a true church without being visible, and a true church without being catholic, which upsets his own argument. This answer, though it bears the false initials of A. C. was written by Sweet the Jesuit. See the catalogue of Popish books in Gee's "Foot out of the Snare."]

t ["Father Drury, a Jesuit " by profession, and by birth a " gentleman, being extracted " out of the house of the Nor- " folcian Druries, and son unto " Dr. Drury, late professor of " the civil law, and practiser " thereof in the court of Arches " here in London. He was by " those of the Romish religion " reputed to be a man of great " learning: and although he " were opposite in point of faith " and belief unto the religion " now professed in England, yet " was he held by the generality " of our nation, both Protest- " ants and Papists, who knew " him, and could make a true " estimate of his virtues, to be " a man of good moral life and " of a plausible and laudable " conversation." Stow, ibid. p. 380. The writer of the same

A. D. 1623. 21 James.

of the truth to make him valuable in himself and acceptable to others,) preached in a great upper room in Blackfriars, next to the house of the French ambassador[u], where some three hundred persons were assembled. His text the xviiith chapter of St. Matthew, ver. 32, 33, *O thou ungracious servant! I forgave thee all that debt because thou desiredst me; shouldest not thou also have had compassion on thy fellow servant, even as I had pity on thee?* In application whereof, he fell upon a bitter invective against the Protestants[x].

Death without giving any warning.

30. His sermon began to incline to the middle, the day to the end thereof, when on the sudden the floor fell down whereon they were assembled[y]. It gave no charitable warning groan beforehand, but cracked, brake, and fell all in an instant[z]. Many

pamphlet observes, that Drury had so strong a presentiment of this fatal disaster that he would have deferred the intended exercise; but being pressed on by his friends, by whom he was greatly admired, and unwilling to disappoint the expectations of a crowded audience, he resolved to proceed.]

[u] [Comte le Tellier. Stow, ibid.]

[x] [As some give out. See a much better extract of the sermon in Stow, p. 381.]

[y] [See a pamphlet written upon this occasion by some zealous Protestant, entitled, "Something written by occasion of that fatal and memorable accident in the Blackfriars, on Sunday, being the 26th of Oct. 1623, s. a. and the 5th of Nov. s. n. or Romano." 4°. p. 30, 1623. See also another pamphlet, entitled, "The Fatal Vespers," written by one who received his account from one of the company, printed in Stow's Survey, p. 380, ed. 1633, and by itself, written on the same subject.]

[z] [In this our author is slightly mistaken, according to the writer of the above pamphlet. "On a sudden," he says, "there was a kind of murmuring amongst the people, and some were heard to say the room shakes; which word being taken one of another, the whole company rose up with a strong suddenness:—I cannot compare it better than to many passengers in a boat in a tempest, who are commanded to sit still and let the waterman alone with managing the oars, but some unruly

were killed, more bruised, all frighted; sad sight, A.D. 1623. 21 James.
to behold the flesh and blood of different persons mingled together, and the brains of one on the head of another. One lacked a leg, another an arm; a third, whole and entire, wanted nothing but breath, stifled in the ruins. Some Protestants coming merely to see were made to suffer, and bare the heavy burden of their own curiosity. About ninety-five persons were slain outright, amongst whom Mr. Drury and Mr. Redyate, priests, with the lady Webbe[a], were of the greatest quality. Nor must we forget how, when one comforted a maid-child, about ten years of age, exhorting her to patience for her mother and sister, the child replied, "that how-"ever it fared with them, this would be a great "scandal to their religion:" a speech commendable in any, admirable in one of her age[b].

31. Yet marvellous was God's mercy in the pre- I will sing of mercy and justice.
servation of some there present. One corner of the first floor rather hung still than stood, (without any beams,) by the relative strength from the side walls,

"people rising overthrows them "all. So was the company "served: for the people thus "affrighted started up with "extraordinary quickness, and "at an instant the main sum-"mer or beam brake in sun-"der." It was an old house, and apparently had been part of the ancient monastery in Blackfriars; as the same writer says, "the building ancient, the "room somewhat spacious, "having dormer windows, and "seemed indeed a handsome "garret. For those which "have been in it say, the stairs "were somewhat dark and "dampish, and the room itself "did savour of the walls and "mortar." p. 20. Yet it is really astonishing what effect this accident produced; men, according to their feelings and prepossessions, considering it as a judgment of God, or magnifying it into a martyrdom. See also an account of this disaster in Johnston, Rer. Brit. p. 622.]

[a] [Descended of the family of the Treshams, sister unto lady Morley. Stow, ibid. p. 384.]

[b] [Stow, ibid.]

A.D. 1623. 21 James. and about twenty persons upon it. These beheld that tragedy wherein instantly they expected to act, and, which was the worst, their fall would not only kill them, but by their weight they should be the unwilling slayers of others, which as yet laboured for life beneath them. It was put into their minds with their knives (fright adding force unto them) to cut their passage out of a loom wall into the next chamber, whereby their lives were preserved. Of those that fell, one was kept alive, (though embraced by death on either side,) a chair falling hollow upon her[c]. Thus any arms are of proof if Divine Providence be but pleased to put them on.

A fair and true verdict.

32. Next day was empanelled a coroner's inquest of substantial citizens to inquire into the cause and manner of their death. These found it done neither by miracle nor malice, no plot or indirect practice appearing, (as some no less falsely than maliciously gave it out,) the roof standing, side wall sound, foundation firm, only the floor broken by God's wisdom permitting it, and their own folly occasioning it. Nor could the carpenter be justly accused for slight and unfaithful building, making it substantial enough for any private purpose, and none could foresee that they would bring a church into a chamber. Twenty of the poorer sort were buried hard by in one grave, and the rest bestowed by their friends in several places of sepulture.

Beware wild wishes.

33. The sad death of these persons, the object of pity to all good and wise men, was the subject of envy to some, so sillily superstitious as to repine at it, that they had not a share in this slaughter.

[c] [Lucy Penrudock. Johnston, ibid.]

On this account, because the priest or clerk after every mass in the City of London solemnly invited the people present with a loud voice to say, three paternosters and three ave-maria's for the souls of such as died in Blackfriars; particularly one Parker[d], who narrowly escaped the danger there, professed—that "nothing grieved him more but that he had "not been one of those that died by the aforesaid "mischance." But see what happened; this man going over to Douay to take priestly orders the week following, was drowned in his passage: thus wild wishes for death prove sometimes such guests as come home to the inviters before they be welcome unto them[e]. A.D. 1623. 21 James.

34. This accident fell on Sunday the 26th of October, which, according to the new style observed beyond sea, (having the speed of ours by ten days,) fell upon their fifth of November, a day notoriously known in the popish calendar. Whereupon master Edward Benlowes[f], a religious and learned gentleman, no small promoter of my former and present labours, thus expressed himself:—

Quinta Novembris eat, Graias orsura calendas;
Sit quocunque stilo, quinta Novembris eat.
Illa dies letho Britonum devoverat aulam;
Letho devotam sospitat illa dies.

[d] [Jo. Gee's Foot out of the Snare, p. 5.]

[e] [The Romanists celebrated the funeral of such as died in their communion with extreme care and ceremony; according to Johnston, "*nec Redeati Jesuitæ, eadem ruina obruti, funus inhonoratum, sine ullo solenni transmissum est. Nemo Londini pontificius, neque ætate tam fessus, neque viribus tam invalidus fuit, qui non solennibus funeris interfuerit.*" Ibid.]

[f] [See the dedications to the History of the University of Cambridge, sect. VI. the Pisgah Sight, p. 23. and Wood's Fasti, Oxon. ii. p. 204, where a long account is given of this strange and singular person.]

A. D. 1623. 21 James.

Ista dies duxit sacra ad miseranda misellos;
Adductos sacris sustulit ista dies.
Lapsa repente domus vos ira atroce peremit,
Queis fuit ira atrox lapsa repente domus.
Drurie, cum cerebro conspergis pulpita vano,
Dum spargis cerebri phasmata vana tui,
Trabe peremptus obis, qui lignea vivus adoras,
Lignea vivus ades, trabe peremptus obis;
Ligna lapisque, manus in fœdera dantia, mactant
Hos, quibus in sacra sunt fœdera ligna, lapis.
Queis crux cœca Deus, tenebrosa magistra, colentes
In tenebras cœcos cœca magistra rapit.
Ah! erit exemplum cui non hoc triste timori,
Tristis hic exemplum triste timoris erit.

Hæc, Romista cave, domus una ut corruit hora,
Una sic hora Roma, caveto, ruet.

A caveat to Rome.

I have nothing else to add of this sad disaster, save that the news thereof next Monday morning, October the 27th, was fresh in every man's mouth in his majesty's chapel in Whitehall, at what time the xiiith chapter of St. Luke's gospel was read for the lesson appointed for the day by the Rubric of the Church of England; wherein, near the beginning, *Or those eighteen, upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem? I tell you, Nay: but, except you repent, ye shall likewise perish.*

SECT. VII.

TO

THOMAS SHUGBOROUGH[a],

OF

BYRDENBURY, IN WARWICKSHIRE, ESQUIRE.

Themistocles was wont to say, "That it was the best music "for a man to hear his own commendation[b]." Should I play a lesson thereof unto your ears, (insisting on your bounty to public books,) sure I am, the tune would be more cheerful to me than grateful to you, better pleased in deserving than hearing your own encomium. I therefore will turn my praising of you unto praying for you, as more proportionable to my public profession, and acceptable to your modest disposition.

MANY papists, not truly humbled with this late sad accident, so demeaned themselves, that indeed most offensive was their insolence to all true Englishmen, the rather because it was generally reported that his majesty intended a toleration

A.D. 1623. 21 James.

The archbishop's letter against a toleration.

[a] [Arms. Sable, a chevron betwixt three mullets argent. "Though the records of this "family" (says Fuller in his "Worthies, iii. p. 296) "have "been embezzled, so that the "links of their successions "cannot be chained in a con-"tinual pedigree from their "orginal; yet is their surname "right ancient in the place "of their name and habitation, "giving for their arms the "stones *astroites*," (in heraldry reduced to mullets, which they most resemble,) "found "within their manor."]

[b] Plut. in his Life.

A. D. 1623. 21 James. of religion, which made the archbishop of Canterbury (though under a cloud for his disaster) to adventure humbly to present the king with his apprehensions, losing with some the reputation of a politic statesman, but preserving with others the character of an honest, downright Protestant. Which letter, though sent and delivered with all privacy, came by some (whether his friends or foes uncertain) to be generally known, and afterwards publicly printed, as followeth[c]:—

[c] [Dr. Heylyn seems to think that Abbot was not the author of this letter. (Life of Laud, p. 111.) Not, I suppose, from the style of the letter, for the archbishop, with many others of his party, was a determined opponent to toleration in matters of religion, and went so far as to assert in the Star-chamber, 7th March, 1613, that the king, if he granted a toleration, would in that case cease to be the defender, and become the betrayer of the faith. (See extract from a MS. letter quoted by Lingard, vol. vi. p. 155 n.) In two contemporaneous copies in Tan. MSS. lxxiii. 247, it is called a speech, and so it seems to be. This circumstance then, and the variations found in different copies of it, and the absence of the original, seem to favor Heylyn's opinion. But the greatest difficulty is to reconcile the archbishop's conduct in writing this paper with his signing the articles of the Spanish match. If he had the boldness to address the king by letter, he would hardly have scrupled to refuse signing the articles; at least he would have voted against the proposal for signing them, which he might easily have done without hazard; since when this point was debated in council, the king was so perplexed, and the lords so irresolute, that the least show of opposition on the side of the archbishop would have decided the question. If then we admit the genuineness of this paper, we can scarcely acquit the archbishop of tergiversation; a vice of which he was perfectly free. Whatever other faults he might have had, he was a prelate rather of a stern and unrelenting character, and certainly no flatterer of kings; as may be seen by his apology, if it be his, printed in Rushworth, I. p. 438.

The remarks of Hacket deserve consideration. After observing that Sanderson is mistaken in supposing that the archbishop was not present at the debate above alluded to, he continues: "It may be Mr. San- "derson could not reconcile, "nor I neither, how the arch- "bishop should sign to the rati- "fication, and undertake a long "letter to king James to dis-

A.D. 1623. 21 James.

" May it please your majesty,

" I have been too long silent, and am afraid by " my silence I have neglected the duty of the place " it hath pleased God to call me unto, and [1]your " majesty to place me in. [2]And now [3]I humbly " crave [4]leave, I may discharge my conscience to- " wards God and my duty to your majesty. And " therefore I beseech [5]your majesty, give me leave " freely to deliver myself, and then let your majesty " do with me [6]what you please. Your majesty hath " propounded a toleration of religion: I beseech you, " sir, take into your consideration [7]what the act is,

1 yourself T. 2 But T. t. 3 I do t. 4 leave *om.* T.
5 you Sire, to T. t. 6 as t. 7 what your act is, what the consequence may be by your act. You T.

" prove it with many flourishes. " *The same fountain cannot* " *send forth salt water and* " *fresh.* Therefore I deny the " letter, I believe justly, to " have been written by him. " Such frauds are committed " daily to set credit to spurious " writings under a borrowed " name.— But I will prove my " conjecture strongly. First, " So wise a man would not " shame himself with incon- " stancy; act one thing to day " with his sovereign lord, and " pluck it down to-morrow. " Secondly, The letter crept " out of darkness thirty years " after the prince came out of " Spain, and twenty years after " the supposed author's death. " Thirdly, The lord keeper cer- " tified the prince, that before " the lords came together to " consult about the case of the " oaths, two speeches were in " many hands rife in London; " the one for the negative un- " der the archbishop's name; " the other for the affirmative " under the lord keeper's name; " when no colloquy had been " begun about it. Was it not " as easy for the same author, " or such another, to forge a " letter as well as a speech? " Fourthly, The archbishop " was so stout in the pulpit at " Whitehall, as to deplore the " prince's absence, and his de- " parture out of the kingdom. " The ill relish of that passage, " (I know it by the papers un- " der my hand,) was sent a- " broad as far as Spain by sir " Edward Villiers. And I " dare say the tidings of that " letter had followed the news " of the sermon, if it had been " a chicken of the same brood." p. 143.]

A. D. 1623. 21 James.

"next what the consequence may be. By your "act you labour to set up that most damnable and "heretical doctrine of the church of Rome, the "whore of Babylon. How hateful will it be to "God, and grievous [8] unto your good subjects, the "true professors of the gospel, that your majesty, "who hath often disputed and learnedly written "against those wicked heresies, should now shew "yourself[9] a patron of those doctrines which your "pen hath told the world, and your conscience tells "yourself, are superstitious, idolatrous, [10]and detes-"table. Add hereunto what you have done in send-"ing the prince into Spain without [11] the consent of "your council, the privity and approbation of [12] your "people. And [13] though, Sir, you have a large "interest in the prince, as the son of your flesh, yet "hath the people a greater, as the son of the king-"dom, upon whom (next after your majesty) [14] their "eyes are fixed, and welfare depends. And so tenderly "is his going apprehended, [15]as, believe it, Sir, how-"ever his return may be safe, yet the drawers of "him [16] to that action, so dangerous to himself, so "desperate to the kingdom, will not pass away un-"questioned, [17] and unpunished. Besides, this tole-"ration [18] which you endeavour to set up by [19] pro-"clamation, [20] cannot be done without a parliament, "unless your majesty will let your subjects see, that "you will take unto yourself a liberty to throw "down the laws of the land at your pleasure. What "dreadful consequence these things may draw after "[21] them, I beseech your majesty to consider. And

8 to T. t. 9 as T. t. 10 and *om.* T. t. 11 the *om.* T. 12 the T. t. 13 although T. t. 14 are their eyes T. t. 15 that believe it Sir, howsoever T. t. 16 unto T. t. 17 and *om.* T. t. 18 which *om.* T. t. 19 your proclamation T. t. 20 it cannot T. t. 21 them *om.* T. t.

" above all, lest by this toleration and [22] discontinu- A. D. 1623.
" ance of the true profession of the gospel, [23] whereby 21 James.
" God hath blessed us, and under which this king-
" dom hath [24] for many years flourished, your ma-
" jesty do not draw upon the kingdom in general,
" and yourself in particular, God's heavy wrath and
" indignation. Thus, in discharge of my duty to-
" wards God, to your majesty, and the place of
" my calling, I have taken humble boldness to
" deliver my conscience. And now, Sir, do with
" me what you please."

2. What effect this letter took is unknown; sure it is, all men's mouths were filled with a discourse of a toleration, for or against it. Some, no professed papists, but who lived at the sign of the Protestant, engage in their arguments very earnestly in the defence thereof, whilst others were as zealous to prove a toleration intolerable, by reasons drawn both from piety and policy. We will only instance in few out of many as they were bandied on both sides, and chiefly such as concern religion. Toleration, the general table talk, argued.

Pro.	*Con.*
1. *Argument.* The papists of late were grown very peaceable, justly recovering the reputation of loyal subjects. In the reign of queen Elizabeth scarce escaped a year without a treason from them; now they vied obedience with Protestants themselves. Pity it	1. *Answer.* Papists were not more peaceable, but more politic than formerly for private ends. Though their practice more plausible, their positions and principles were as pernicious as ever before, viz. That princes excommunicated may be deposed; No

22 discountenance T. t. 23 wherewith T. t. 24 these T. t.

A. D. 1623. 21 James.

was but they should be encouraged, and their loyalty fixed for ever, by granting them a toleration.

2. We see the same liberty allowed the Huguenots in France, to whom the king permits their churches, ministers, service, sermons, sacraments, according to the direction of their own conscience.

3. The king of Spain would be highly affected with this favour allowed to the English Catholics, and this would fasten him in firm friendship to the English crown, to which his amity for the present was not only useful but necessary.

4. Truth will ever triumph over falsehood, and verity gain the victory of error, the Protestantism (notwithstanding the toleration) would get ground on popery by the demonstration of the Spirit in the scriptures.

faith to be kept with heretics. That the pope, &c.

2. The case is different. This liberty was not so much given to, as gotten by, the Huguenots, so numerous and puissant; it was conceived dangerous to deny them such privileges. Thanks be to God, not such as yet the condition of catholics in England, whose party was not so powerful, but certain by such a toleration to be improved.

3. The necessity of his friendship at this time was only fancied by such as desired it. Besides, the King of Heaven must not be offended that the king of Spain may be pleased.

4. Though truth itself be stronger than falsehood, yet generally the promoters of falsehood are more active and sedulous than the advancers of truth. Besides, it is just with God upon the granting of such an unlawful toleration to weaken the converting power of truth, and strengthen the perverting power of falsehood, giving the English over to be deluded thereby.

5. The apish and mimical popish pageant, with the toys and trifles in their service, would render their religion ridiculous. No danger that any wise man should ever be seduced thereby.

5. The world hath ever consisted of more fools than wise people, such who carry their judgment more in their eyes than in their brains; popery being made luscious to people's senses, too probably would court many to the embracing thereof. A. D. 1623. 21 James.

6. Protestant ministers would be more painful in preaching, and careful in residing on their cures, to keep them from infection.

6. It is no policy to let in the wolf merely on design to make the shepherds more watchful; rather on the contrary, Protestant ministers would be utterly disheartened in the performance of their place when the parishioners were countenanced to desert them without any punishment.

7. The thing in effect was already allowed to papists, who now (though privately) safely celebrated mass in many places, which favourable connivance fell but little short of a toleration.

7. If the papists already have what they would have, let them be contented therewith. Why desire they any more? but indeed there is a grand difference betwixt a state's winking at their wickedness for a time, and a formal and final tolerating thereof. During the former, catholics sin on their own account and at their own peril, the laws, though not executed, standing in full force against them; but a public toleration of their superstition adapts the same to become the act of the English nation.

A. D. 1623. 21 James.

The pulpit is loud against the toleration.

Here it would be tedious to recite the texts of scripture (some more, some less proper to the purpose,) alleged by several persons against the toleration: some typical, *Thou shalt not plow with an ox and an ass*[d]: some historical, God's children must not speak two tongues, Ashdod and Hebrew[e]: some doctrinal, *We must not do evil that good may come thereof*[f]. The best was, the toleration bare date with the Spanish match, with which it was propounded and agitated, advanced, expected, desired by some; opposed, suspected, detested by others; and at last both together finally frustrated and defeated.

His majesty's care to regulate preaching.

3. Now was his majesty informed that it was high time to apply some cure to the pulpits, as sick of a sermon-surfeit and other exorbitancies. Some meddled with state matters, and generally, (by an improper transposition,) the people's duty was preached to the king at court, the king's to the people in the country. Many shallow preachers handled the profound points of predestination; wherein (pretending to guide their flocks) they lost themselves. Sermons were turned into satires against papists or nonconformists[g].

[d] Deut. xxii. 10.

[e] Neh. xiii. 24.

[f] Rom. iii. 8.

[g] [The synod of Dort, like most religious discussions of the same kind, provoked the very evil which it was intended to have smothered and destroyed. Instead of submitting to its decisions, they who differed from them now promulgated their own sentiments with zeal, inflamed by a sense of persecution and intolerance, as they conceived it; whilst those who concurred in the decisions of the synod used not their victory with the discretion and charity which ought to have been expected from them. The consequence was, that ill feelings of political enmity and partizanship were now mixed up with those of religious differences, and the quarrel continued with unabated noise and

4. To repress the present, and prevent future mischiefs in this kind, his majesty issued out his directions to be written fair in every register's office, whence any preacher (if so pleased) might with his own hand take out copies gratis, paying nothing for expedition. Herein the king revived the primitive and profitable order of catechizing in the afternoon, (better observed in all other reformed churches than of late in England) according to the tenor ensuing [h]: A. D. 1623. 21 James.

His directions.

" Most reverend father in God, right trusty and [1]en-
" tirely beloved counsellor, We greet you well [i].

" Forasmuch as the abuses and extravagancies " of preachers in the pulpit have been in all times " repressed in this realm, by some act or council " of state, with the advice or resolution of grave " and learned prelates; insomuch, that [2]the very " licensing of preachers had [3] beginning by an order " of Star-chamber, the eighth day of July, in the " nineteenth year [4]of the reign of king Henry the " eighth, our noble predecessor: and whereas at " this present, divers young students, by reading " of late writers and ungrounded divines, do broach

[1] right entirely T. [2] as the W. T. [3] the beginning W. [4] of the reign *om.* W. T.

vigor. Nor was it confined to the Low Countries, but spread into England, hitherto comparatively free from such vain and useless controversies; "its " decisions," as bishop Hacket observes, " awakened the op- " position of divers scholars in " our kingdom who lay still " before. Learned and un- " learned did begin to conflict " every Sunday about God's " eternal election, efficacy of " grace in our conversion, and " perseverance in it, with much " noise and little profit to the " people." To check this spirit the orders in the text were given: " which in form and " style," says Hacket, " were " the lord keeper's, in the mat- " ter his majesty's command." Life of Williams, p. 89.]

[h] Cabala, [Edn. 3. p. 103.]

[i] [Wilkins' Concil. vol. iv. p. 465.]

A. D. 1623. 21 James.

" many times unprofitable, unsound [5] seditions, and
" dangerous doctrines, to the scandal of [6] the church,
" [7] disquiet of the state, and present government:
" We, upon humble [8] representations unto us, of
" these inconveniences by yourself, and sundry other
" grave and reverend prelates of this church, as
" also of our princely care and zeal for the extirpa-
" tion of schism, and dissension growing from these
" seeds, and for the settling of a religious and peace-
" able government both [9] in church and [10] common-
" wealth; do by these our special letters straitly
" charge and command you to use all possible care
" and diligence that these limitations and cautions
" herewith sent unto you concerning preachers, be
" duly and [11] strictly from henceforth put in practice
" and observed by the several bishops within your
" jurisdiction. And to this end our pleasure is,
" that you send [12] them forthwith [13] copies of these
" directions to be by them speedily sent and commu-
" nicated [14] unto every parson, vicar, curate, lecturer
" and minister, in every cathedral [15] or parish church
" within their several dioceses, and that you earnestly
" require them to employ their uttermost endeavour,
" in the performance of this so important a business,
" letting them know that we have a special [16] eye
" unto their proceedings, and expect a strict account
" thereof both [17] of you and every one of them.
" And these our letters shall be your sufficient
" warrant and discharge [18] in that behalf.

5 seditious and dangerous W. T. 6 this W. T. 7 disquieting T.
8 representation of these inconveniences unto us T. 9 of the W. T.
10 state W. T. 11 straitly from henceforth observed and put in practice by the several bishops in their (several W.) dioceses within your jurisdictions T.
12 them *om.* T. 13 several copies T. 14 to T. 15 and T.
16 eye to their proceeding T. 17 from you and every of them W. T.
18 in that behalf *om.* W.

"Given under our signet at our castle of Windsor A. D. 1623. 21 James.
"this [19] 14th of August, in the twentieth year of
"our reign," &c.

"*Directions concerning Preachers*," *sent with the letter* [i].

[k] 1. "That no preacher under the degree of a "bishop, or a dean of a cathedral, or collegiate "church, and that upon the king's days and set "festivals, do take occasion, by the expounding of "any text of scripture whatsoever, to fall to any "set discourse or common place, otherwise than by "opening the coherence and division of his text, "which be not comprehended and warranted in "essence, substance, effect, or natural inference, "within some one of the articles of religion, set "forth by authority in the Church of England, "and the two books of homilies set forth by the "same authority in the year 1562, or in some of "the homilies set forth by authority of the Church "of England, not only for the help of non-preach-"ing, but withal for a pattern or a boundary, as it "were, for the preaching ministers. And for their "further instruction for the performance thereof, "that they forthwith read over and peruse diligently "the said book of articles and the two books of "homilies.

2. "That no parson, vicar, curate, or lecturer, "shall preach any sermon or collation hereafter

[19] 4th day of August W. T.

[i] [Heylyn thinks that archbishop, then bishop, Laud, had a hand in drawing up these directions. Life of Laud, p. 97.]

[k] [Cabala, p. 110. Lond. 1663. Wilkins' Concil. vol. iv. p. 465.]

A. D. 1623. 21 James. "upon Sundays or holidays, in the afternoon, in "any cathedral or parish church throughout the "kingdom, but upon some part of the Catechism, "or some text taken out of the Creed, the Ten Com- "mandments, or the Lord's Prayer, funeral sermons "only excepted; and that those preachers be most "encouraged and approved of who spend their after- "noon's exercises in the examination of children in "their Catechism, which is the most ancient and "laudable custom of teaching in the Church of "England.

3. "That no preacher of what title or denomina- "tion soever, under the degree of a bishop or dean "at the least, do from henceforth presume to preach "in any popular auditory the deep points of predes- "tination, election, reprobation, or the universality, "efficacy, resistibility or irresistibility of God's grace, "but leave these themes to be handled by learned "men, and that moderately and modestly, by way of "use and application, rather than by way of positive "doctrine, as being fitter for schools and universities "than for simple auditories.

4. "That no preacher, of what title or denomi- "nation soever, shall presume from henceforth, in "any auditory within this kingdom, to declare, limit, "or bound out, by way of positive doctrine, in any "sermon or lecture, the power, prerogative, jurisdic- "tion, authority, right or duty, of sovereign princes, "or otherwise meddle with these matters of state, "and the differences betwixt princes and people, "than as they are instructed and precedented in the "homilies of obedience, and in the rest of the homi- "lies and articles of religion set forth (as before is "mentioned) by public authority; but rather con-

" fine themselves wholly to these two heads, faith A.D. 1623. 21 James.
" and good life, which are the subject of ancient
" homilies and sermons.

5. " That no preacher of what title or deno-
" mination soever, shall causelessly, or without invi-
" tation of the text, fall into bitter invectives or
" undecent railing speeches against the persons of
" either Papists or Puritans, but modestly and gravely,
" when they are occasioned thereunto by the text
" of Scripture, clear both the doctrine and disci-
" pline of the Church of England from the asper-
" sions of either adversary, especially when the
" auditory is suspected with the one or the other
" infection.

6. " Lastly, That the archbishops and bishops of
" this kingdom (whom his majesty hath good cause
" to blame for their former remissness) be more wary
" and choice in the licensing of preachers, and revoke
" all grants made to any chancellor, official, or com-
" missary, to pass licenses in this kind, and that all
" the lecturers throughout the kingdom (a new body
" and severed from the ancient clergy of England
" as being neither parsons, vicars, nor curates) be
" licensed henceforward in the court of faculties,
" only upon recommendations of the party from the
" bishop of the diocese, under his hand and seal, with
" a fiat from the archbishop of Canterbury, and a
" confirmation under the great seal of England. And
" that such as transgress any of these directions
" be suspended by the lord bishop of that diocese, or
" in his default by the archbishop of that province,
" *ab officio et beneficio*, for a year and a day, until his
" majesty, by the advice of the next convocation,
" shall prescribe some further punishment."

A.D. 1623. 21 James.

Various censures on the king's letters.

5. No sooner were these the king's declarations dispersed into every diocese, but various were men's opinions thereof. Some counted it a cruel act, which cut off half the preaching in England (all afternoon sermons) at one blow. Others thought the king did but *uti jure suo*, doing not only what in justice he might, but what in prudence he ought, in this juncture of time [1]. But hear what I have heard and read in this case.

Objections.	*Answers.*
1. Christ grants ministers their commission, *Go teach all nations.* St. Paul corroborates the same, *Preach the word, be instant in season, out of season.* Man there-	1. Ministers, if commanded *not at all to speak, or teach in the name of Jesus*, are with the Apostles *to obey God rather than man.* But vast the difference betwixt

[1] ["These orders," says Hacket, in his quaint yet descriptive style, "were well brought forth, "but success was the step-mo- "ther. *Destinata salubriter* "*omni ratione potentior fortuna* "*discussit.* (Curt. iii. 8, 29.) "Crossness and sturdiness took "best with the vulgar; and he "was counted but a cockney that "stood in awe of his rulers. No "marvel if some were brought "to no state of health, or toward "any temper of convalescence, "with these mandates. No- "thing is so hardly bridled as "the tongue, saith St. James, "especially of a misguided con- "science; when their bladder "is full of wind the least prick "will give it eruption. Curb "cholerical humours and you "press out bitterness, as it is "incident to those that are "straight-laced to have sour "breaths. The Scottish bre- "thren were acquainted by com- "mon intercourse with these "directions, that had nettled "the aggrieved pulpitarians; "and they, says reverend "Spotswood, p. 543, accuse "them to be a discharge of "preaching, at least a confin- "ing of preachers to certain "points of doctrine, which they "call *limiting of the Spirit of* "*God.* But the wiser sort "judged them both necessary "and profitable, considering "the indiscretion of divers of "that sort, who, to make os- "tentation of their learning, "or to gain the applause of the "populace, would be meddling "with controversies they scarce "understand, and with matters "exceeding the capacity of the "people." Life of Williams, p. 90.]

fore ought not to forbid what God enjoins.

2. This is the way to starve souls, by confining them to one meal a day; or at the best by giving them only a mess of milk for their supper, and so to bed.

3. Such as are licensed to make sermons may be entrusted to choose their own texts, and not in the afternoons to be restrained to the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments.

4. In prohibiting the preaching of Predestination, man makes that the forbidden fruit which God appointed for the tree of life; so cordial the comforts contained therein to a distressed conscience.

5. Bishops and deans, (forsooth,) and none under their dignity, may preach of Predestination. What is this but to have the *word of God in respect of persons?* As if all discretion were confined to cathedral men, and they best able to preach who use it the least.

a total prohibition, and (as in this case) a prudential regulation of preaching. A. D. 1623. 21 James.

2. Milk (catechetical doctrine) is best for babes, which generally make up more than a moiety of every congregation.

3. Such restraint hath liberty enough, seeing all things are clearly contained in, or justly reducible to, these three, which are to be desired, believed, and performed.

4. Indeed, Predestination solidly and soberly handled, is an antidote against despair. But, as many ignorant preachers ordered it, the cordial was turned into a poison; and therefore such mysteries might well be forborne by mean ministers in popular congregations.

5. It must be presumed that such of necessity must be of age and experience, and may in civility be believed of more than ordinary learning, before they attained such preferment. Besides, cathedral auditories being of a middle nature for understanding, (as beneath the university, so above common city and country congrega-

A. D. 1623. 21 James.

6. Papists and Puritans in the king's letters are put into the same balance, and papists in the prime scale first named, as preferred in the king's care, chiefly to secure them from invectives in sermons.

7. Lecturers are made such riddles in the king's letters, reducible to no ministerial function in England. Whereas indeed, the flower of piety and power of godliness flourished most in those places where such preachers are most countenanced.

tions,) are fitter for such high points to be preached therein.

6. The king's letter looks on both under the notion of guilty persons. Had Puritans been placed first, such as now take exception at their postponing would have collected, that the king esteemed them the greatest offenders.

7. Lectures are no creatures of the Church of England, by their original, (like those mixed kinds, little better than monsters in nature, to which God, as here the state, never said, Multiply and increase,) and therefore the king had just cause to behold them with jealous eyes, who generally supplanted the incumbents of livings in the affections of their parishioners, and gave the greatest growth to nonconformity.

These instructions from his majesty were not pressed with equal rigour in all places, seeing some over active officials, more busy than their bishops, tied up preachers in the afternoon to the very letter of the Catechism, questioning them if exceeding the questions and answers therein, as allowing them no liberty to dilate and enlarge themselves thereupon[m].

[m] [See the letter of the archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, in further explanation of these directions. Dated

6. Expect not of me a particular account of the politic intricacies touching the Spanish match, or no match rather. First, because Spanish, and so alien from my subject. Secondly, because the passages thereof are so largely and publicly in print. Thirdly, because in fine it proved nothing, though kept on foot so long, till king James, by endeavouring to gain a daughter-in-law, had in effect lost his own daughter, her husband and children being reduced to great extremities. A.D. 1623. 21 James. A needless subject waved.

7. Truly king James never affected his son-in-law's acceptance of the Bohemian crown, nor promised himself any good success thence, though great the hope of the German Protestants therein. Indeed, some of them were too credulous of a blind prophecy commonly current amongst them— A crown not joyed in.

POST TER VIGINTI, CESSABIT GLORIA QUINTI;

expecting the ending of the Austrian family, sixty years being now expired since the death of Charles the Fifth; but discreet persons slighted such vanities, and the *quinti* had like to have proved the extirpation of Frederick, fifth of that name, palatine of Rhine, had not God almost miraculously lately countermanded it[n].

Sept, 4. 1622, in Wilkins' Concil. vol. iv. p. 466. This letter of the archbishop is extremely deserving of attention, and contains also the best defence of these injunctions, which, strange to say, caused great heat and dissensions, especially with the Puritan party. "So impossible was it for that "king," to use Heylyn's words, "and as impossible for his son "and successor, assisted by the "gravest and most moderate "counsellors, to fix on any "thing conducible to the peace "and happiness of the church, "but what must be traduced "and made odious in the sight "of the people by the reports "and artifices of those trouble-"some spirits." Life of Laud, p. 100.]

[n] [The States of Holland were most earnest in urging the prince to accept the Bohe-

A. D. 1623. 21 James.

King James accused by some.

8. Yea, king James privately foretold to some principal persons that this matter would prove the ruin of his daughter. There want not some who say, that he went about to verify his own prediction, by not sending seasonable succours for their assistance, who had he turned his embassies into armies, might probably have prevented much Protestant misery[o].

mian crown. But their conduct, like that of most of the prince's advisers, was influenced by motives of self-interest. They were anxious, as all other means had failed, to engage king James in a war with the house of Austria, their own truce with Spain being nearly at an end. And the king's reluctance, or rather inability, to engage in a war with Spain and the emperor, made him doubtless adverse to assist in these schemes. Howell, in a letter written about this time, alluding to these circumstances, observes: "What his majesty will "do hereafter I will not presume to foretell, but hitherto "he hath given little countenance to the business, nay, "he utterly misliked it at first; "for whereas Dr. Hall gave the "prince palsgrave the title of "king of Bohemia in his pulpit prayer, he had a check "for his pains; for I heard his "majesty should say, that there "is an implicit tie among "kings, which obligeth them, "though there be no other instrument or particular engagement, to stick to and "right one another upon an insurrection of subjects; therefore he had more reason to be "against the Bohemians, than "to adhere to them in the deposition of their sovereign "prince." Letters, p. 83.]

[o] [Howell gives an amusing instance of this in one of his lively letters, dated 10th June, 1622. "The last week I heard "of a play the Jesuits of Antwerp made in derogation, or "rather derision, of the proceedings of the prince palsgrave, where, among divers "other passages, they feigned "a post to come puffing upon "the stage; and being asked "what news, he answered, how "the palsgrave was like to have "shortly a huge formidable "army, for the king of Denmark was to send him 100,000, "the Hollanders 100,000, and "the king of Great Britain "100,000; but being asked "thousands of what? he replied, The first would send "him 100,000 red herrings, "the second 100,000 cheeses, "and the last 100,000 embassadors; alluding to sir Richard Weston and sir Edward "Conway, my lord Carlisle, "sir Arthur Chichester, and "lastly, the lord Digby, who "have been all employed in "quality of embassadors in less "than two years, since the beginning of these German "broils." Letters, p. 105.]

9. Others excuse king James, partly from the just hopes he had to accommodate all interests in a peaceable way; partly from the difficulty of conveying effectual forces into so far distant a country [P]. A.D. 1623. 21 James. Defended by others.

10. Meantime both the palatinates were lost, the upper seized on by the emperor, the nether (but higher in value) by the king of Spain; the city of Heidelberg taken and plundered, and the inestimable library of books therein carried over the Alps on mules' backs to Rome. Each mule laden with that learned burthen had a silver plate on his forehead, whereon was engraven FERO BIBLIOTHECAM PRINCIPIS PALATINI. Now those books are placed in the pope's Vatican, entitling Protestants to visit the place, who one day may have as good success as now they have just right to recover them. Both the palatinates lost.

11. As for the palatinate, satirical tongues commonly called it the land of promise, so frequently and so solemnly was the restitution thereof promised to king James, fed only with delays, which amounted to mannerly denials. Since it hath pleased God to turn this land of promise into a land of per- Land of promise, now land of performance.

[P] [It would have been madness, in the extreme, for king James, with a ruined exchequer and no definite or fixed resources, to have plunged himself into a war with half Europe; and that, in behalf of a kingdom, which could he have won for his son, would never have been retained. With what little prudence the promoters of this war acted, and upon what vain and chimerical schemes they relied for success, may be seen by archbishop Abbot's letter in the Cabala, p. 102. At the same time James felt deeply for the misfortunes of his son-in-law, as may be seen in his various letters. The only relief which the king could obtain or hope to gain was by mediation and treaty, and they who smile at his proceedings in this business would do well to shew how otherwise he could have acted.

See some just remarks upon the temper of the nation at that time in Hacket's Life of Williams, p. 79.]

A. D. 1623. 21 James. formance[q], the present palatine being peaceably possessed thereof.

Prince Charles goes to Spain. 12. Prince Charles, with the duke of Buckingham, lately went privately through France, where he saw the lady, (whom afterwards he married,) into Spain. It is questionable whether then more blamed king James for sending him[r], or afterwards blessed God for his safe return[s]. Sumptuous his entertainment in the Spanish court, where it was not the king's fault but kingdom's defect, that any thing was wanting. He quickly discovered (the coarseness of fine pretending wares at distance are easily confuted near hand) that the Spanish state had no mind or meaning of a match, as who demanded such unreasonable liberty in education of the royal offspring, (in case any were born betwixt them,) and other privileges for English papists, that the king neither could nor would in honour or conscience consent thereunto. However, prince Charles (whose person was in their power) took his fair farewell with courteous compliance.

His return, Sept. 12. 12. Though he entered Spain like a private person, he departed it like himself and the son of his father, a stately fleet attending him home[t]. Foul weather forced them to put in at the Isle of Scilly, (the parings of England, south-west of Cornwall,) where

[q] The nether palatinate.

[r] [Or rather Buckingham. Thus Williams, writing to the duke shortly after his departure, says: "In sooth all "the court and the rabble of "the people lay this voyage "upon your lordship. The "king would seem sometimes, "as I hear, to take it to him-"self, (and we have advised "him so to do by proclama-"tion,) yet he sticks at it, and "many times casts it upon you "both." Hacket's Life of Williams, p. 117. See also Clarendon's Rebel. vol. i. p. 20.]

[s] [Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 101.]

[t] The reader is requested to pardon our short setting back of time.

in two days they fed on more and better flesh than they found in Spain for many months. Soon after he arrived at Portsmouth, and the next day came to London, to the great rejoicing of all sorts of people, signified by their bonfires, ringing of bells, with other external expressions of joy[u]. A. D. 1623. 21 James.

13. King James now despaired of any restitution, especially since the duke of Bavaria was invested in the upper palatinate, and so his son-in-law's land cantoned betwixt a duke, a king, and an emperor. Whose joint consent being requisite to the restoring thereof, one would be sure to dissent from the seeming consenting of other two. Whereupon king James not only broke off all treaty with Spain, but also called the great council of his kingdom together. The palatinate beheld desperate.

14. Indeed, the malecontents in England used to say, That the king took physic and called parliaments both alike, using both for mere need, and not A happy parliament

[u] [Dr. Ryves, in a letter to Usher, then bishop of Meath, thus describes the arrival of the prince, and the joy manifested by the people on that occasion: "Now at the last, thanks be "to our good God, we have "our prince again; he came to "London on Monday morning "last, being the 6th of this "present, at eight of the clock "in the morning; it was my "hap to be at Lambeth at that "time with my lord of Canter-"bury; and whilst I was there, "the prince came to Lambeth "stairs, where his grace receiv-"ed him and kissed his hand; "and from thence in his grace's "barge went to York house, "where he brake his fast, and "presently went away to Roy-"ston, where the king then was "and is. News of his lodging "that night at Guildford came "to his grace of Canterbury that "morning at three of the clock, "and presently all London "rang with bells and flamed "with bonfires, and resounded "all over with such shouts, as "is not well possible to ex-"press. The day, without bid-"ding, was kept festival by "every man; whereof because "I took such pleasure in see-"ing it, I conceive your lord-"ship will also take some plea-"sure in hearing the relation." Parr's Lett. of Usher, p. 301. Compare also Hacket's curious and important narrative, Life of Williams, p. 165.]

A. D. 1623. 21 James. caring for neither how little time they lasted. But now there happened as sweet a compliance betwixt the king and his subjects as ever happened in man's memory, the king not asking more than what was granted. Both houses in the name of the whole kingdom promising their assistance with their lives and fortunes for the recovery of the palatinate. A smart petition was presented against the Papists, and order promised for the education of their children in true religion[x].

The convocation. 15. As for the convocation contemporary with this parliament, large subsidies were granted by the clergy, otherwise no great matter of moment passed therein. I am informed doctor Joseph Hall preached the Latin sermon, and doctor Donne was the prolocutor.

Dr. Donne prolocutor. 16. This is that doctor Donne, born in London, (but extracted from Wales,) by his mother's side great great grandchild to sir Thomas More, whom he much resembled in his endowments: a great traveller, first, secretary to the lord Egerton, and after, by the persuasion of king James, (and encouragement of bishop Morton,) entered into orders, made doctor of divinity (of Trinity College in Cambridge) and dean of St. Paul's, whose life is no less truly than elegantly written by my worthily respected friend, Mr. Isaac Walton, whence the reader may store himself with further information.

A book falsely fathered on Isaac Casaubon. 17. A book was translated out of the French copy, by Abraham Darcye, intitled, "The Original "of Idolatry," pretended made by Dr. Isaac Casaubon, dead ten years before, dedicated to prince

[x] [Printed in Prynne's Hid. Works, p. 62, 63, from whom Rushworth copied it into his Collect., vol. i. p. 141.]

Charles, but presented to king James and all the lords of the council. A book printed in French before the said Isaac Casaubon was born, whose name was fraudulently inserted in the titlepage of the foregoing copy. A.D. 162 21 James

18. Merick Casaubon, his son, then student of Christ Church, by letter, informed king James of the wrong done to his father, by making him the author of such a book, contrary to his genius and constant profession, being full of impertinent allegations, out of obscure and late authors, whom his father never thought worthy of reading, much less the using their authority. His majesty was much incensed hereat, and doctor Mountain, bishop of London, had much ado to make his chaplain's peace for licensing thereof, the printer and translator being for some time kept in prison. The falsehood detected.

19. Yet after all this, and after Merick Casaubon had written a Latin vindication[y] to give satisfaction to all, the same translation since is printed in Amsterdam, with a justificatory preface of the former edition. So impudent are some falsely to father books on worthy authors, to make them more vendible for their own profit, though it discredit the memory of others. Yet still continued.

20. The business of the palatinate being now debated by martialists, the king's council of war, dissuading from regaining it in kind, advised him rather to recover it in value where he could with the best conveniency out of the Spanish dominions: for the palatinate was not worth the rewinning, which (grant recovered by the English) could not recover itself for many years, such the havoc and None of the worst counsel.

[y] [In Latin, French, and English, published in 1624.]

A.D. 1623. 21 James. waste made therein. Secondly, it was hard to be gotten, such the distance thereof, and harder to be kept, so ill-neighboured it was on all sides. So that the king, if so pleased, might with as much honour and more ease carve out his own reparations nearer home.

King James falleth sick. 21. During these agitations, king James fell sick at Theobald's of a tertian ague, commonly called in spring; for a king rather physical than dangerous. But soon after his ague was heightened into a fever; four mischiefs meeting therein.

A confluence of four mischiefs. 22. First, the malignity of the malady, in itself hard to be cured. Secondly, an aged person of sixty years current. Thirdly, a plethoric body full of ill humours. Fourthly, the king's averseness to physic, and impatience under it. Yet the last was quickly removed above expectation; the king (contrary to his custom) being very orderable in all his sickness. Such sudden alterations some apprehend a certain prognostic of death, as if when men's minds acquire new qualities they begin to habit and clothe themselves for a new world.

A plaster applied to his wrists; 23. The countess of Buckingham contracted much suspicion to herself and her son, for applying a plaster to the king's wrists without the consent of his physicians. And yet it plainly appeared that Dr. John Remington, of Dunmow in Essex, made the same plaster, (one honest, able, and successful in his practice, who had cured many patients by the same,) a piece whereof applied to the king one eat down into his belly without the least hurt or disturbance of nature. However, after the applying thereof, the king grew worse[z].

[z] [For an account of this last sickness and death of the

24. The physicians refused to administer physic unto him till the plasters were taken off, which being done accordingly, his fifth, sixth, and seventh fits were easier, (as Dr. Chambers said.) On the Monday after the plasters were laid on again, without the advice of the physicians, and his majesty grew worse and worse, so that Mr. Hayes (the king's chirurgeon) was called out of his bed to take off the plasters. Mr. Baker (the duke's servant) made the king a julip, which the duke brought to the king with his own hand, of which the king drank twice, but refused the third time. After his death, a bill

A.D. 1623. 21 James. and julip without the advice of his physicians.

king, see Haeket's Life of Williams, p. 122, whose account is the more to be depended on, since Williams was much with the king upon this melancholy occasion. One circumstance among others is mentioned by him, (which is generally overlooked,) upon the authority of the great Dr. Harvey: "that "the king used to have a benefical evacuation of nature, a "sweating in his left arm, as "helpful to him as any fontinel "could be, which of late had "failed; and that argued that "the former vigor of nature "was low and spent." Such people generally enjoy good health, and the prevention or stopping of such natural assistances generally proves fatal. This account is also borne out by bishop Goodman. However, many of those scandalous authors, who about the time of the Commonwealth published memoirs and pamphlets relative to the history of this king and his son, did not scruple to attribute the death of king James to poison. Clarendon informs us "that after a short indisposition by the gout, [the king] "fell into an ague, which, "meeting many humors in a "fat unwieldy body of fifty-eight years old, in four or "five fits carried him out of "the world. After whose death "many scandalous and libelous discourses were raised "without the least color or "ground; as appeared upon "the strictest and most malicious examination that could "be made, long after in a time "of license, when nobody was "afraid of offending majesty, "and when prosecuting the "highest reproaches and contumelies against the royal "family was held meritorious." Hist. of the Rebel. vol. i. p. 43. The administering of this potion and plaister made part of the charge which the Commons brought against the duke in the second year of king James' successor. (See Rushworth, vol. i. p. 354.)]

A. D. 1623. 21 James.

was brought to the physicians to sign, that the ingredients of the julip and plasters were safe; but most refused it, because they knew not whether the ingredients mentioned in the bill were the same in the julip and plasters. This is the naked truth delivered by oath from the physicians to a select committee two years after, when parliament voted the duke's act a transcendent presumption, though most thought it done without any ill intention [a].

[a] [Sanderson, whose history has been most unjustly abused by Wood and the infamous Welwood, gives substantially the same account of the king's death as our author, but with some additional and curious facts. "In the entrance of the "spring," he says, "the king "was seized with a tertian "ague, which to another con- "stitution was not pestilential, "but rather might prove phy- "sical. But all men then knew "his impatience in any pain, "and always utter enmity to "any physic, (See this vo- "lume, p. 565,) so that nothing "was ministered to give him "ease in his fits; which at "length grew violent. And in "those maladies every one is "apt to offer advice, with such "prescriptions as have been "useful unto others; and in "truth, those as various as the "disease is common.

"In this time of the king's "retire the duke got leave "to visit his estate at New- "Hall, in Essex, where the earl "of Warwick told him that a "near neighbour, Dr. Reming- "ton, at Dunmow, had cured "many, and himself also, of a "quartan ague, which had last- "ed a long time. The king "being told this, commanded "the duke to send for the me- "dicine, which was a plaister of "mithridate, made and spread "upon leather, and delivered "from his hand to one Mr. Ba- "ker, a servant of the duke's "then, and now living near to "the earl, and so by that mes- "senger brought to the king, "and shewed to the doctors, "and lay ready prepared upon "the table, until proper time to "be applied to his stomach, "together with a posset drink "of milk and ale, hartshorn "and marygold flowers, ingre- "dients harmless and ordinary, "which the duke gave him to "drink, and so took leave and "went to London.

"The king fallen into slum- "ber about noon, the physi- "cians took opportunity to re- "tire, having watched all night "till that time. When in the "interim of their absence, "the king awakes and falls "from a change of his fit, un- "to timelier effect, than usu- "ally it had happened before: "which to allay this plaister "was offered and put to his

25. Four days before his death, he desired to receive the sacrament; and being demanded whether he was prepared in point of faith and charity for so great mysteries, he said he was, and gave humble thanks to God for the same. Being desired to declare his faith, and what he thought of those books he had written in that kind, he repeated the articles of the Creed one by one, and said, "he believed them all as they were received "and expounded by that part of the catholic church "which was established here in England." And said, with a kind of sprightfulness and vivacity, "that "whatever he had written of this faith in his life, he "was now ready to seal with his death." Being questioned in point of charity, he answered presently, "that he forgave all men that offended him, and "desired to be forgiven by all Christians whom he "in any wise had offended." A. D. 1623. 21 James. Catechised on his death bed in his faith and charity.

26. Then, after absolution read and pronounced, he received the sacrament; and some hours after he professed to the standers by, "that they could not "imagine what ease and comfort he found in him- His death. 27th March, 1625.

"stomach. But it wrought no "mitigation, and therefore was "removed by the doctors, who "were much offended that any "one durst assume this bold- "ness without their consent. "But by after examination all "men then were assured of "the composition, and a piece "thereof eaten down by such "as made it, and the plaister "many months afterwards in "being, for further trial of any "suspicion of poison; which, "if not satisfactory now, it "must and ought to lodge "upon their scores, Sir Mat- "thew Lister, Dr. Chambers, "and other physicians, worthy "men, who were herein ex- "amined with very great sa- "tisfaction to clear that ca- "lumny, and are yet living to "evince each one's suspicion." The author then proceeds to give the secret history, or rather knavery, of Egglisham's pamphlet, who first gave currency to the report of the king's having been poisoned by the duke. Reign of James I. p. 591.]

A. D. 1623. 21 James. "self since the receiving hereof;" and so quietly resigned his soul to God, having reigned twenty-two years and three days.

Of a peaceable nature. 27. He was of a peaceable disposition. Indeed, when he first entered England, at Berwick, he himself gave fire to, and shot off, a piece of ordnance[b], and that with good judgment. This was the only military act personally performed by him; so that he may have seemed in that cannon to have discharged war out of England.

Made nobility less respected by the commonness thereof. 28. Coming to York, he was somewhat amazed with the equipage of the northern lords repairing unto him, (especially with the earl of Cumberland's,) admiring there should be in England so many kings, for less he could not conjecture them, such the multitude and gallantry of their attendance. But (following the counsel of his English secretary there present) he soon found a way to abate the formidable greatness of the English nobility, by conferring honour upon many persons, whereby nobility was spread so broad, that it became very thin, which much lessened the ancient esteem thereof.

His eloquence, 29. He was very eloquent in speech, whose Latin had no fault but that it was too good for a king, whom carelessness (not curiosity) becomes in that kind. His Scotch tone he rather affected than declined; and though his speaking spoiled his speech in some English ears, yet the masculine worth of his set orations commanded reverence, if not admiration, in all judicious hearers; but in common speaking (as in his hunting, he stood not on the cleanest but nearest way) he would never go about to make any expressions.

[b] Stowe's Chron. p. 810.

30. His wit was passing sharp and piercing, equally pleased in making and taking a smart jest; his majesty so much stooping to his mirth that he never refused that coin which he paid to other folk. This made him please himself so much in the company of count Gondomar; and some will say, the king was contented (for reasons best known to himself) to be deceived by him, and humoured into a peace to his own disadvantage. A. D. 1623. 21 James. and piercing wit.

31. Once king James in an afternoon was praising the plentiful provision of England, especially for flesh and fowl; adding, the like not to be had in all Spain what one county here did afford. "Yea, "but my master," quoth Gondomar, there present, "hath the gold and silver in the East and West "Indies." "And I, by my soul," saith the king, "have much ado to keep my men from taking it "away from him." To which the don's Spanish gravity returned silence. King James his return to Gondomar.

32. His judgment was most solid in matters of divinity, not fathering books of others[c], (as some of his predecessors,) but his works are allowed his own by his very adversaries. Most bountiful to all, especially to scholars, no king of England ever doing (though his successor suffered) more to preserve the revenues of the English hierarchy. Most merciful to offenders, no one person of honour (without parallel since the conquest) being put to death in his reign. In a word, he left his own coffers empty, but his subjects' chests full, the land being never more wealthy; it being easier then to get than since to save an estate. Judicious, bountiful, and merciful.

[c] [He alludes particularly to Henry the Eighth's book against Luther.]

END OF VOL. V.